2. Form nouns from the following words :—**dusty, sunny, noisy, shady.**

3. Quote from memory the second and the last stanzas.

Trying to Please Everybody

dismounted	**laughter**	**donkey**	**trudging**
comfortably	**remarked**	**disgust**	**beside**
direction	**common**	**opposite**	**roared**

Once a washerman wanted to sell his ass. One morning he and his son set out for the market. The father rode upon the ass, while the youth walked beside him. By and by a woman saw them and said, "A fine father indeed ! You are riding, while your poor son is walking ! You ought to walk yourself and left your son ride."

At this the father got down and asked his son to get upon the donkey.

They had not gone far when a friend of the washerman was passing by. He remarked, "A nice son ! You are riding comfortably on the donkey while your old father is trudging along ! You ought to be ashamed of yourself," Hearing this, the youth dismounted.

"Let us both walk," said the father. So they began to walk.

After some time they passed two men going in the opposite direction. One of them said to the other, "These fellows have little common sense. They are walking when they have got a beast strong enough to carry both of them !"

At this both the father and the son mounted the donkey. They were getting along comfortably, when some travellers

DARA SHUKOH

VOL. I.

BIOGRAPHY

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

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To

A. F. RAHMAN, Esq., B.A. (Oxon.),

VICE-CHANCELLOR, DACCA UNIVERSITY,

AS A TRIBUTE TO HIS LOVE OF LEARNING

AND PATRONAGE OF SCHOLARSHIP.

FOREWORD

Prince Dara Shukoh, the eldest son and heir-Apparent of the Emperor Shah Jahan, is a unique figure in the Mughal imperial family. He is chiefly remembered for his tragic end, but few people realise that the tragedy lay not so much in his death as in his life. The Mughal princes who followed Akbar belonged to a set type. Valiant, debauched and luxurious, they excelled in fighting and drinking, and very often in both. The imperial throne was their only objective and pomp and power their sole aim in life. They divided their time between camp and harem, and wine and women formed their chief diversions from the exertions of warfare. They cared very little for knowledge and still less for any higher intellectual pursuits. They moved in a narrow groove and lacked all liberal ideas or noble statesmanship. The pleasures of the flesh alone made any appeal to their animal instincts and they never bothered about any higher spiritual life of which man is capable.

Into this world was born a mystic philosopher, a devotee of knowledge and seeker after spiritual truths. Save his accident of birth he had no other qualifications for the exalted Peacock-throne with which a cruel mocking fate ever tantalised him.

Had Dara Shukoh been born in an ordinary household, he might have lived and died a pious saint, nay, might have even made his mark as one of those spiritual guides of Medieval India who preached the universal religion of love and human fellowship. An exalted soul, a noble heart, a liberal mind, a freshness of outlook, a lofty idealism, and an inexhaustible thirst for knowledge—these were the uncommon gifts with which nature endowed him. They would have elevated him to almost any height, save the one to which a cruel tempting fate ever allured him as his natural destiny. Herein lies the greatest tragedy of Dara's life. He had aptitude for a higher spiritual life, but he had to spend his days amid the sordid materialism of the Mughal palace. His special qualities of head and heart were meant for the ennobling of mankind, but he was called upon to use them for gaining a royal throne. It is the old familiar tale of a square peg in a round hole. He had the ladder for heaven, but used it for the Peacock throne.

Few historical figures present such a grim tragedy. The very noble qualities of Dara proved his ruin. Had his pursuits been less intellectual and aims less spiritual, he might have been more successful in his enterprise. Had he studied less of philosophy and more of military science, had he devoted to administration and warfare the time he spent in translating the *Upanishads* and writing

Majuma-ul-Baharain, had nature instilled in him more of worldly cunning and less of mystic spiritualism, he might have perhaps proved victorious in the struggle for succession. But so long as man does not radically alter his estimate of moral values few will regret the choice that nature made in the equipment of Dara Shukoh.

The life of such a man is an eminently fit subject for study both by the philosopher and by the historian. While the tragic end of Dara has always made a profound appeal to many, few people have shown any real appreciation of his greatness and sterling merit. To Dr. Qanungo belongs the credit of making a serious effort not only to unravel the real man before our eyes, but also to explain the significance of his life and mission. His great mission in life, as the following pages will prove, was the promotion of peace and concord between the followers of Hinduism and Islam. "It is hardly an exaggeration to say", remarks Dr. Qanungo, "that any one who intends to take up the solution of religious peace in India must begin the work where Dara Shukoh had left it and proceed on the path chalked out by that prince." Unfortunately that path was not followed by any other Mughal prince. The truth is that Dara typified a spirit which vanished with him. As the author of the following pages has very truly observed, the defeat of Dara "saw the definite close of the most brilliant

epoch of the medieval history of India which is aptly called the Age of Akbar—the age of nationalism in politics and culture, the era of Revival of Letters and Fine Art."

Dara dreamt of a new enlightened age for India of which the foundation was laid by Akbar, and his failure was a national loss. His dreams, it is true, came to nothing. But even such dreams have their value, and if we properly adjust the moral values, the dreamer may not suffer in comparison with his more realistic and successful rival whose long and apparently triumphant career shattered the great fabric of the Mughal empire. Judged by ordinary standards Aurangzib was a great success, and Dara a hopeless failure ; but to those whose visions transcend the ordinary limitations imposed by worldly conventions, and catch a glimpse of ultimate reality, the position may be exactly the reverse. To them the following pages would make an absorbing appeal, and the very lucid and sympathetic delineation of Dara's character by the gifted author would be a study of abiding interest to all.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

RAMNA, DACCA,
27th December, 1934.

PREFACE.

I OWE an apology as well as an explanation to my readers who have been expecting the second volume of my *History of the Jats,* and not a biography of Prince Dara Shukoh. After the publication of the first volume of the *History of the Jats,* Sir Jadunath Sarkar suggested to me the idea of a monograph on Dara, for which he had discovered some new materials in the Jaipur Darbar archives. This biography of Dara was originally intended to form a modest volume of 200 pages to be written in twelve months. Accordingly I took up the study of the tragic career of the Philosopher-Prince as a diversion from the tale of war and woe of eighteenth century India. But as I proceeded studying things in and around the subject, what was honestly meant to be a diversion became almost a passion, and the result has run to about 800 pages in two volumes of which the first is now offered to the public.

In my study of Dara Shukoh I took my clue from the great historian William Irvine, who wrote to Sir Jadunath in August, 1905: "I suppose man has still enough of the brute in him to have remained a fighting animal, and the drum and trumpet school of history seems as popular as ever. . . . . . The

losing side (*e.g.*, Dara Shukoh's) always gets scanty justice in histories." The publication of a very learned article, *Les Entretiens de Lahore* by Huart and Massignon in the *Journal Asiatique* (Oct.-Dec., 1926) came as a great stimulus, and gave a new turn to my study. I found therein an echo of my sentiment that some writers have wrongly inferred "the social barrenness of Dara's work from his political defeat."

It also suggested to me a fresh line of research in the history of the evolution of Indian religious thought, of which the life and writings of Dara Shukoh form an important chapter. With these French savants I feel that at this moment when the unity of India depends on a new attempt at the mutual comprehension of the two spiritual elements (Hinduism and Islam), attention can legitimately be paid to the figure of Dara Shukoh, who attempted in the seventeenth century what Kabir and Akbar had done before him in the fifteenth and the sixteenth respectively, or what Rajah Ram Mohan Roy did in the nineteenth.

Dara and Aurangzib represent the two sides of Shah Jahan's character, as well as the two phases of his glorious reign. Dara is the central figure of a great religious and literary movement for the adaptation of Islam to the spiritual traditions of India. His spiritual search took him to the field of theosophical research. He attempted to bridge the

gulf between Hinduism and Islam not for the commonalty of the two creeds but only for the "elect" of the two communities. He started with the proposition that there must be a common source of all revealed Scriptures, as the Quran refers to a *Umm-ul-kitab*. Dara set himself to the task of discovering this lost Book with the zeal and confidence of Sir Galahad in search of the Holy Grail, and having crossed the bourne of Islam, he lighted upon the *Upanishads* as that very Book hidden from profane eyes.

As regards the study of the political career of Dara Shukoh, I worked on the same materials and traversed the same ground as Sir Jadunath had done in his *History of Aurangzib*, vols. i and ii, with the idea of arriving at reasoned conclusions independently. The result has been very disappointing and sadly disproportionate to the time spent on it. Sometimes the strenuous labour of several months on the voluminous records on the War of Succession has been altogether fruitless of any new discovery, as the learned historian of Aurangzib has not left for his successors a single important fact or dramatic touch unappropriated by himself, except some dry strings of insignificant proper names or irritating details, which I too have passed over without notice. I had an advantage over Sir Jadunath on one point, namely, the *Jaipur letters*, particularly those on Sulaiman's campaign against Shuja. Though some of

these letters were noticed by him in the second edition of the first two volumes of his *History of Aurangzib,* he left them to me for a fuller use in writing that particular chapter of the War of Succession in a new light. I have been able to treat in detail Dara Shukoh's siege of Qandahar by utilising an anonymous contemporary account of that siege (*Lataif-ul-akhbar*) by an eye-witness. The Qandahar campaign was a crucial test of Dara's character and ability, and marked a crisis in his career ; hence, the justification of my treatment of it in a separate chapter, perhaps the longest in the book. Where original records threw no new light on the War of Succession, I had to content myself with brief summaries from Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib.* As truth and reason must overrule sentiment, however strong and dear, I had to accept in general the views of Sir Jadunath on the career and character of Dara as a soldier and a politician. In doing so, I am not without misgivings that my readers will perhaps hold that the pupil of the historian of Aurangzib has murdered poor Dara Shukoh a second time.

In this volume of *Dara Shukoh,* the reader will come across references to a vol. II, which is not yet before him. That volume, containing the literary and political correspondence of Dara Shukoh and some extracts from his *Sirr-ul-Asrar,* is also in the press. The present volume has been made complete in itself for the use of students and the general

public by the inclusion of some chapters which were originally planned to form part of vol. II.

My indebtedness to Sir Jadunath is only too obvious. Without the support and encouragement of Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, the Head of the Department of History at the Dacca University where I serve, it would hardly have been possible for me to bring this work to a conclusion. My sincere thanks are due to Mr. Fida Ali Khan, M.A., Head of the Department of Persian and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Dacca University, and to Hakim Habib-ur-Rahman Sahib of Dacca for placing their private collections of Mss. at my disposal for use, and also permitting me to publish some important letters of Dara in their possession. My friend Dr. Jogindranath Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., has kindly helped me in reading the proofs of this volume, for which I offer him my warmest thanks.

K. R. Q.

January, 1935.

CONTENTS.

Emperor accompanied by great nobles went to see the child, and took his meal in Dara's house. She died a few months afterwards, on the day of Id-ul-fitr (21st March 1634). Dara who was then travelling with the Court to Lahor got high fever and heart-trouble owing to grief and mental depression. The Emperor was so alarmed that he sent for Hakim Wazir Khan from Lahor, and in grave concern ordered Dara's tent to be pitched close to his own, so that Jahanara Begam might tend him. Shah Jahan went to see him several times, and distributed large sums to the faqirs and the destitute. (*Pad.* I. B. 3, 9, 10).

2. Sulaiman Shukoh, born on Friday morning, 27th Ramzan, 1044 (March 6, 1635), at the village of Sultanpur, during a journey with the Court from Delhi to Agra. The celebration of the birth-ceremony took place at the latter city. The Emperor with all the nobles down to the grade of Hazari was magnificently entertained at Dara's mansion. (*Pad.* I. B. 73-74, 84-85).

3. Mihir Shukoh, born on Wednesday, 2nd Rabi-ul-awwal, 1048 (July 4, 1638) ; died on the 9th of the next month. (*Pad.* ii. 101, 104).

4. Pak-nihad Banu Begam, born on 29th Jamadi-ul-awwal 1051, August 26, 1641. (*Pad.* ii. 245).
5. Mumtaz Shukoh,[1] born on the last day of Jamadi-ul-awwal 1053=6th August, 1643 (*Pad.* ii. 337), died possibly in the month of Zilqada, 1058.
6. Sipihr Shukoh, born on Thursday, 11th Shaban, 1054=October 3, 1644. (*Pad.* ii. 388). Shah Jahan visited Dara's house after the birth of every grand-child of his and gave, on each occasion, two lakhs of Rupees in cash for the birthday celebration.
7. Jahanzeb Banu.
8. Amal-un-nisa.

It is rather strange that the Court-histories of Shah Jahan do not mention the birth of any child to Dara from 1645 to his death (1658). Two daughters of Dara seem to have survived their father. In the *Kalimat-i-Aurangzib*, a daughter of Dara, Amal-un-nisa Begam, is twice mentioned as an object of Aurangzib's special care. She received certain ornaments as presents from that Emperor (Sarkar MS., 92, 101). Manucci mentions a little daughter of Dara, called by her pet name Jani

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1 Waris mentions the death of a child of Dara at the age of four years and 9 months in the month of Zilqada, 1058. This child, whose name is not mentioned, cannot be Pak-nihad Banu, who was at this date, 6 years and 9 months old. So evidently Mumtaz is meant.

Begam, [official name Jahanzeb Banu], who was brought up by Jahanara and married to Muhammad Azam, son of Aurangzib [in 1668.] This daughter of Dara cannot be the same as Pak-nihad Banu who was 12 years older than Muhammad Azam. Amal-un-nisa and Jani Begam were not apparently the same person. These were certainly born after Sipihr Shukoh.

CHAPTER III

RANK AND OFFICES HELD BY DARA SHUKOH. HIS EARLY COMMANDS

SECTION I.—RANK IN THE MUGHAL PEERAGE

According to the convention of the Mughal Court none could have any *locus standi* in the State except as a member of the official nobility. The Mughal Peerage included the "noblesse of the sword" as well as "the noblesse of the robe"; the soldier and the physician, the poet and the painter, the theologian and the eunuch were equally entitled to this honour in the guise of Army Officers (*mansabdars*).

Prince Dara received his first mansab, 12000 *zat* and 6000 *sawar*, on the occasion of the Emperor's lunar birthday, Saturday 5th October, 1633 (11th Rabi-us-sani, 1043 H.; *Pad.* I. A. 541). On this day the *sarkar* of Hissar (in the Panjab), which was the Dauphiny of the House of Babar,

—was assigned as the fief of the Prince. The choice was not accidental, but made deliberately to proclaim the eldest Prince as the Heir Designate to the Throne.

The promotion of Dara was rapid and high, beating all previous records of the family. Several lifts raised his rank in five years to 20,000 *zat* and 10,000 *sawar*. After this his *zat* stood fixed for about ten years; nevertheless, promotion continued in the form of increments to his *sawar* contingent, and conversion to *do-aspah*, *seh-aspah*. Dara got a lift of 10,000 *zat* in April 1648, and eight years after another 10,000 *zat* in January 1656. By this time Dara's command was bigger than those of Shuja and Aurangzib combined. Though younger, the energetic and brave Aurangzib had overtaken the indolent Shuja; but the policy and affection of Shah Jahan raised Dara beyond the sphere of competition. Just before his fateful illness the Emperor raised Dara's rank to 50,000 *zat*, and after his partial recovery, when the War of Succes-

sion loomed larger in the horizon, he bestowed on Dara "in recognition of his filial piety and tender nursing during the illness", an extraordinary rank of 60,000 *zat* and 40,000 *sawar*, of which 30,000 was *do-aspah, seh-aspah.*

SECTION 2.—VICEROYALTIES OF DARA

1. Allahabad:

Dara was appointed subahdar of the province of Allahabad, *vice* Shaista Khan, with the additional charge of two imperial forts, Chunar and Rohtas, on the 15th June, 1645. As the Prince was at this time travelling with the Court in Kashmir, Baqi Beg, the chief eunuch of the harem of Dara, was nominated his deputy to these territories (*Pad.* ii. 444). Baqi Beg and other deputies successfully administered this province on behalf of the absentee Viceroy for twelve years. Dara visited it only once (1656-1657), and completed at Benares his monumental work *Sirr-ul-asrar* (also known as *Sirr-i-akbar*), a translation of 50 Upanishads, on 1st July, 1657. Allahabad had no poli-

tical and economic interest for the Prince, who prized it only as the abode of Hindu learning, and of a Sufi mystic, Shaikh Muhibb-ullah Allahabadi.

2. The Panjab:

About two years after (March 1647) the subah of the Panjab was added to the viceroyalty of Dara. As it became at this time the base of supplies to the imperial army fighting in Balkh under Aurangzib, Dara had to reside at the head-quarters of his new province for about a year. This province continued in the uninterrupted possession of Dara till he was chased out of it by the army of Aurangzib. Though generally left to the management of his deputies, Lahor received the greatest attention of the Prince and nowhere was his rule better appreciated. He gained great popularity through the interest he took in the welfare of the city, which he improved by the construction of numerous *chauks* or market-places. His name is still held in affectionate remembrance at Lahor; and the costly Badshahi mosque erected at Lahor by Aurangzib has ever

been held in disrepute because it was built from the "spoils of blood. . ."[1]

Lahor had a peculiar sanctity for Dara as the famous saint, Mian Meer had lived and died here. He became acquainted with the saint in 1634 A.D. During his viceroyalty Dara built a beautiful mausoleum over the tomb of the saint, which afterwards sheltered the last remains of his beloved consort Nadira Banu Begam.

3. Gujrat:

This subah was granted to Dara in 1649, who transferred Baqi Beg[2] (now created Bahadur Khan) from Allahabad to Gujrat in order to settle the affairs of the new province. Dara never visited

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1 This mosque was turned into a magazine by the Sikhs and only restored by the English to the Musalmans, who however shunned it as an *Akeldama*. (*Lahor Gaz*. 1883, p. 24 and 176.) The mausoleum of Mian Meer lies near the Lahor East (Cantonment) Station; it is a building of white marble and Agra sandstone with a mosque in the courtyard (*ibid*., p. 166.) Manucci mentions the building of this mausoleum by Dara.

2 Bahadur Khan (Baqi Beg), biographical sketch in *Maasir-ul-umara*, i. 444-447.

Gujrat and was relieved of its charge in July 1652.

4 & 5. Multan and Kabul:

In July 1652 A.D. a redistribution of provinces became necessary when Dara assumed the command of the Qandahar expedition after Aurangzib had twice failed to recapture that fort from the Persians. Dara was relieved of the charge of Gujrat (17th Shaban, 1062=14th July 1652), being given in exchange Multan and Kabul; Aurangzib, who had to resign Multan to Dara, got the four subahs of the Deccan.[1] The subah of Bihar, which was coveted by Prince Shuja, viceroy of Bengal and Orissa for a long time, was granted to Dara on 20th December 1657, when the civil war had well-nigh broken out. Dara played the absentee Viceroy both in Multan and Kabul. After his retreat from Qandahar in 1653 A.D.,

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[1] Redistribution of the provinces on 17th Shaban, 1062= July 14, 1652. (Waris, 66a). Gujrat was given to Shaista Khan, who was replaced by Murad Bakhsh in that subah in March, 1654 (Waris, 85a.)

Sulaiman Shukoh accompanied him to Delhi, leaving Kabul in charge of Bahadur Khan (Baqi Beg). In Multan Muhammad Ali Khan was replaced a year afterwards by Sayyid Izzat Khan. In January 1657 Rustam Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang was appointed to Kabul, *vice* Bahadur Khan (Baqi Beg)[1] who was transferred to Lahor. When the civil war broke out, Baqi Beg was sent as the guardian of young Sulaiman Shukoh during his campaign against Shuja; his place in Lahor was filled by Sayyid Izzat Khan (Abdur Razzaq Gilani).[2]

SECTION 3.—SERVICES AND EMOLUMENTS OF DARA SHUKOH

The career of Dara as a soldier and administrator was extremely uneventful. During his official career he commanded three military expeditions against the Persians, and of these two were almost holiday parades without any enemy to encounter, but in the third Fortune

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1 Waris MS. 66*b*; Khafi Khan, ii. 713.

2 A biographical notice of Sayyid Izzat Khan (*Maasir-ul-umara*, ii. 475.)

deserted him sadly. He was only an absentee Viceroy of several provinces, which were ruled in his name by subordinates nominated by the Emperor. The Crown Prince was reared up like a greenhouse plant carefully shielded from dangers and disappointments, and watered by the perennial spring of Shah Jahan's affection.

Though his services were meagre, his emoluments were rich. His military rank alone entitled him to a salary of two crores and seventy-five thousand Rupees a year. Besides his own extensive fiefs in Kashmir, Kangra and the Panjab, he was granted all the jagirs of the great minister Sadullah Khan (April 1656). He also held two rich sinecures, *viz.*, the Faujdarship of Kaul (Aligarh) and the Rahdari (guardianship) of the region between Delhi and Agra with a total income of 22½ lakhs of Rupees. Shah Jahan placed at the disposal of Dara splendid resources, military and financial, without giving him any opportunities for developing the practical ability to utilize them.

SEC. 4.—FIRST EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PERSIANS

Since 1522 A.D. the province of Qandahar had been a debatable ground between the Timurides and the Safavis for 125 years, during which it changed hands several times. It came twice as a windfall to the Mughal Emperors, but slipped as often through their voluptuous grasp. Shah Tahmasp conquered it during the minority of Akbar, but Muzaffar Husain Mirza betrayed it into the hands of that Emperor in 1596 and entered Mughal service. Shah Abbas I wrested it from Jahangir in 1623, but fifteen years later Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian governor of Qandahar, made it over to the Mughals and fled to the Court of Shah Jahan from .the wrath of his tyrannical master (February, 1638).

Shah Jahan made vigorous efforts to consolidate this gain of chance, and conquered Bust and Zamin Dawar, the two dependencies of Qandahar. He spent eight lakhs of Rupees in strengthening the fortifications of these forts, and constituted

a new province, the subah of Qandahar, which also included the tribal territories to the west of Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan—yielding a revenue of fifteen lakhs of Rupees (six crores of *Dams*).

Mortified at the loss of Qandahar, Shah Safi, as Abdul Hamid tauntingly remarks, "could neither enjoy rest by day nor have any sleep at night (*roz be-tab u shab be-khwab*)." But in truth his own sovereign, distressed by the constant fear of losing the insecure gain of chance, fared hardly better. The characteristic feature of the Indian foreign policy during the 16th and 17th centuries had been the diplomatic isolation of heretical Persia by a coalition of the Sunni rulers of Hindustan, Turkey, and Transoxiana. Shah Jahan maintained a close alliance with Sultan Murad the Fourth of Turkey, who had also designs upon the Persian Iraq. He humoured Nazar Muhammad Khan of Balkh and the Uzbeg chiefs with occasional exchange of friendly messages and gifts; the latter were, however, distrustful at heart because the Timurides

never altogether gave up their pretensions to Balkh, Badakhshan and Samarqand. In spite of these warlike and diplomatic measures, the Persian nightmare did not cease to haunt the dreams of Shah Jahan.

In the beginning of the year 1639, the Persians were reported meditating an attack on Qandahar. The Crown Prince, who had not hitherto seen any active service, was eager to win his spurs in a campaign against the Persians. Accordingly he was given leave at Lahor with great solemnity on February 8th, 1639 (14th Shawwal, 1048 H).[1]

The apprehension of Persian hostility seemed to have died down about this time, as the slow and leisurely march of the Indian army to Kabul—which was reached only on 18th May—indicates. After a fortnight's rest at that city, Dara

1 First expedition :—Dara starts for Qandahar, *Pad.* ii. 140; the Mughal army reaches Kabul, 25th Muharram, 1049 H., *ibid.*, p. 147; Dara goes to Ghazni, 17th Safar, 1049 H., *ibid.*, 150; returns to Kabul, 18th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1049, *ibid.* 151; homeward march, 15th August 1639 (25th Rabi-us-sani; *ibid.* 156); meets the Emperor at Lahor, October 9, 1639 (21st Jamadi-us-sani, 1049, *ibid.* 163.)

was ordered to Ghazni with his contingent and Qilich Khan to Qandahar for watching the movements of the Persians. In truth, Shah Safi was at this time in the grip of a serious struggle with Sultan Murad IV of Constantinople, who had invaded the Persian Iraq and captured Baghdad. The Mughal Prince was recalled to Kabul in the first week of July, 1639.

SECTION 5.—SECOND EXPEDITION OF DARA TOWARDS QANDAHAR

The Persian menace became a reality when Sultan Murad IV died and the Turks were rapidly expelled from their recent conquests in Iraq and Armenia (1640-1641). Relieved of the fear of the Turks and flushed with his recent victories in the west, the Persian King diverted the whole warlike resources of his kingdom towards Qandahar. He sent in advance his Commander-in-Chief Rustam Khan Gurji with a powerful army, having instructed him to halt at Nishapur, the capital of Khurasan, till his own arrival.

This news caused a great stir in the Mughal Court at Lahor. Distinguished officers were hastily recalled from provincial governments, and the Rajput chiefs hurried to the Panjab at the head of their contingents. The supreme command of the army was given to Prince Dara (10th April, 1642), and Said Khan Jahan, Rustam Khan Bahadur, Rajah Jai Singh, Rajah Jaswant Singh and other veterans were placed on his staff.

Said Khan Bahadur, subahdar of Multan, and several officers of the Kabul army were ordered to reinforce Dara. The Crown Prince again led a magnificent army across the Indus, but the Persian King never reached Nishapur, having ended his life's journey at Kashan in May 1642.

This was rather a cruel disappointment to Dara, who was reluctant to turn back without encountering the enemy. He proposed to force a war on the Persians by attacking Sistan, Farah and Herat and thus relieve Qandahar of the constant Persian menace. Shah Jahan with greater

DARA SHUKOH

CHAPTER I

BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION

SECTION 1.—BIRTH AND BOYHOOD

The city of Ajmir assumed an unusually brilliant and gay appearance during the spring of the year 1615. The spiritual quiet of the place was broken by the din and bustle of a jubilant Court. The occasion was the successful close of the Mewar campaign and the return of the victorious Prince Khurram with the grandson of Rana Pratap in his train. About a month after, Mumtaz Mahal gave birth to her third child and first son, at Ajmir in the night of Monday, 20th March 1615 (29th Safar, 1024 A.H.). The Emperor Jahangir gave to this heir to his favourite son the name of Muhammad Dara Shukoh, in whom not a few recog-

nized the Heir-Presumptive to the Throne.[1] The fortunate new-comer was hailed as "the Prime Rose of the Empire" (*Gul-i-awwalin-i-gulistan-i-Shahi* — which gives the year of his birth). Roses enough and in rapid succession indeed blessed the wedlock of Shah Jahan and Mumtaz. Of their fourteen children, two daughters and four sons were destined to play their parts in one of the saddest tragedies of History.

When Dara was about two years old, his father was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. There too Khurram's arms and diplomacy achieved conspicuous success. But the jealousy and plots of the fair Empress Nur Jahan drove him into rebellion in 1623. For two years in the dreary South and through the wilds of Telingana, in Bengal and Bihar, Shah Jahan suffered terrible privations which were cheerfully shared by Mumtaz and her children. At last, worn out by the relentless chase of

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1 *Padshah-nama*, i. 391; *Amal-i-Salih* adds "after 12 *gharis* and 42 *pals* of the night had passed". For festivities etc., see *Amal-i-Salih* (a secondary source), pp. 92-94. A list of Shah Jahan's children, vide Appendix.

Nur Jahan's fury, he sought peace with his father, consenting to send Dara and Aurangzib as his hostages to the Court. The two princes left the Deccan for Lahor towards the close of the winter of 1625.

Dara and Aurangzib met the Emperor at some stage between Attock and Rohtas (near Rawalpindi), on his return journey from the Afghan country. Having now in her custody the three sons of Shah Jahan—for Shuja the most beloved of his grandchildren was already with Jahangir —Nur Jahan began to conspire more confidently to set aside the succession of that Prince. But before her plots could mature Jahangir breathed his last in the Rajaur territory, on Sunday, 29th October, 1627 (28th Safar, 1037 A.H.).

Shah Jahan formally crowned himself at Agra on February 4, 1628 (8th Jamadi-us-sani 1037 A.H.),[1] and about three weeks later the princes were

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1 Coronation of Shah Jahan, *Pad.* I. A. 87-98; arrival of the princes, *ibid*, 177; *Amal-i-Salih*, 225-231. An interesting notice of the arrival of princes, W. Foster's *English Factories (1623-1629)*, p. 247.

brought to the Court by their maternal grandfather Asaf Khan. They reached Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra on February 26, and were ordered to halt there for the night. In the afternoon Mumtaz Mahal snatched a visit to her sons in a tent set up for her reception, midway between Agra and Sikandra. Next day, Dara made his salutation to the Throne in a public *darbar*, offering the customary *nazar* and *nisar* (money to be scattered over the Emperor's head to take off evil influences). He was granted a daily allowance of one thousand Rupees, besides two lakhs of Rupees in cash, as his share of the royal bounty at the coronation.

SECTION 2.—EDUCATION

To the Court-historian of Shah Jahan "going to school" (*ba maktab raftan*) meant no more than a bare mention of the name of the tutor. The *Padshah-nama* tells us that Dara's tutor was Mulla Abdul Latif Sultanpuri.[1] The

[1] *Pad.* I. B. 344-345.

primary and secondary courses of Dara's study seem to have been of the same stereotyped character as those of an average Mughal prince,—who was usually taught the *Quran*, the standard works of Persian poetry, and the history of Timur. Great attention was paid to calligraphy and the cultivation of a graceful epistolary style for which Abul Fazl, at once the model and despair of the age, was recommended. An apt pupil, Dara learnt all that Abdul Latif could teach, developed scholarly habits, and above all imbibed his master's predilection for the *maaqulat*, *i.e.*, speculative sciences. The famous calligraphist Abdur Rashid Dailemi[1] is said to have been one of the instructors of Dara. He wrote a clear and elegant hand, which was a close copy of his father's, as the autographs of Shah Jahan and Dara

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1 Among the exhibits at the Exhibition in connection with the Nagpur Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1928, a specimen of the calligraphy of Abdur Rashid Dailemi was shown (Collection of A. Ghosh, 42, Shambazar Street, Calcutta). I have seen another specimen in a private album of Hakim Habib-ur-Rahaman, Chok, Dacca. Opinions differ whether Abdur Rashid was a tutor of Dara.

preserved in some MSS. of the Oriental Public Library of Patna and elsewhere show. He read much Persian poetry; but Firdausi and Sadi had far less interest for him than Rumi and Jami. Unlike his father, history had neither lesson nor inspiration for him. If Shah Jahan admired Alexander the Great, Dara preferred Aristotle and Plato. The miracles of saints entertained him far more than the exploits of warlike heroes.

Dara Shukoh remained a lifelong student with an unbalanced passion for study and speculation. His mind had a mystic bent and he sought allegory where others had found stern facts. He studied the *Quran* and the *Hadis* with the assiduity and the pre-possession of a theorist eager to prove a thesis. In his Quranic studies he rejected the commentaries of the early Fathers of the orthodox school, and hated Arabicism as productive of intolerance and intellectual sterility. He shunned the jurists and never cared to study Islamic Jurisprudence. Shah Jahan wished to train up the Crown Prince in

the duties of government under his own eyes and always kept him at Court. But Dara lacked the capacity to study men and things at first-hand, and though brought up at Court, could never judge a courtier aright.

The youthful Prince found himself at the cross-ways in the very beginning of his career. Since the death of Akbar the forces of reaction in the empire had been gathering strength beneath the calm surface of the ebbing Liberalism. Dara was deceived by appearances, and Shah Jahan had not possibly warned him of the dangers ahead. If any one should truly inherit the empire of Akbar it must be done with Akbar's policy and idealism; so did the Prince think. The mantle of Akbar thus fell on him; but it proved Ajax's burden upon less sturdy shoulders. Dara realized the futility of evolving a new religion, unintelligible and unacceptable to Hindus and Musalmans alike. He could never think of straying outside the fold of Islam to embrace humanity in love and amity; in the very

heart of Islam he would seek a common platform for the warring creeds. He resolved to retain in full his allegiance to Muhammad, and yet be a catholic-hearted promoter of unity and peace reconciling Islam to the spirit of progress, culture and civilization of the world at large. The esoteric path of Islam was taken up by him, and he devoted his ample leisure to theosophical studies. He read in translation the Jewish, Christian, and Brahmanical scriptures in the course of his investigation about the doctrine of *Tauhid* or Divine Pantheism.

He patronized Sanskrit scholars, translated the *Bhagavad Gita*, and 50 *Upanishads* with their help, mastered Hindi, and wrote hymns in this popular vernacular. In short, he focussed in himself all the liberal influences of the age, and was looked upon by the Hindus as a re-incarnation of the spirit of Akbar. To posterity the name of Dara Shukoh became a byword for a man learned in philosophic lore.

SECTION 3.—BETROTHAL AND BEREAVEMENT

About two years after Shah Jahan's accession to the throne, the renowned general Khan Jahan Lodi, a commander of 7,000 horse, rose in rebellion and fled to the South. As he threatened to league himself with the ruler of Bijapur, Shah Jahan marched to the Deccan in the month of December 1629. Dara also travelled with the imperial camp, but did not take part in any action. While the Emperor was touring through Khandesh, Mumtaz Mahal proposed a match between the Crown Prince and the daughter of the deceased Prince Sultan Parvez. Shah Jahan heartily entered into the project and issued orders to make preparations for the marriage on a most magnificent scale, but the queen suddenly died at Burhanpur in the night of 7th June, 1631 (17th Zilqada, 1040 A.H.) after giving birth to a daughter, Gauharara Begam. After an absence of about 2½ years the

Emperor[1] returned to the capital (June 9, 1632).

APPENDIX

CHILDREN OF SHAH JAHAN AND MUMTAZ MAHAL

(*Padshah-nama*, Vol. I. A., 391-393).

1. HUR-UN-NISA—Saturday, 8th Safar, 1022 A. H. born at Agra ; died after 3 years and one month at Ajmir on Wednesday, 24th Rabi-us-sani, 1025 A. H. (b. 20th March, 1613 ; d. 1st May, 1616).
2. JAHANARA BEGAM—21st Safar, 1023 H. (Wednesday 23rd March 1614) born at the village of Heeni during the Mewar campaign.
3. DARA SHUKOH—Monday night, 29th Safar, 1024 H. born at Ajmir (20th March 1615).
4. SHAH SHUJA—Sunday night, 18th Jamadi-ul-akhir, 1025 A. H. at Ajmir (23rd June 1616).
5. RAUSHAN RAI [Raushanārā] BEGAM—2nd Ramzan, 1026 H. at Burhanpur. (Sunday, 24th August, 1617).

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[1] Shah Jahan's state exit from Burhanpur 24th Ramzan, 1041 A.H. (April 4, 1632), *Pad.* I. A. 422; state entry into the capital on 1st Zilhijja, 1041 A.H. (9th June, 1632). Dara Shukoh, sitting behind the Emperor, scatters money (*nisar*) over his father's head—*Pad.* I. A. 428.

6. AURANGZIB—Sunday night, 15th Zilqada, 1027 H. at Dohad in the Panch Mahal District, Bombay Presidency. (24th October 1618).
7. UMMED BAKHSH—Wednesday, 11th Muharram, 1029 H. near Sarhind ; died at Burhanpur in the month of Rabi-us-sani, 1031 H. 8th December 1619—February 1622).
8. SURIYA BANU BEGAM—20th Rajab, 1030 : died at the age of seven on 23rd Shaban, 1037. (31st May, 1621—18th April 1628).
9. A SON—Born in 1032 A. H. ; died before being named.
10. MURAD BAKHSH—25th Zilhijja, 1033, (28th September 1624) at the fort of Rohtas in Bihar.
11. LUTFULLAH—Wednesday 14th Safar, 1036 H. (25 Oct., 1626), died after 19 months on 9th Ramzan 1037.
12. DAULAT AFZA—4th Ramzan 1037 H., died 20th Ramzan, 1038 H. (28th April 1628—3rd May 1629).
13. A DAUGHTER—10th Ramzan, 1039 H ; died immediately after. (13th April 1630).
14. GAUHARARA BEGAM—Wednesday night, 17th Zilqada, 1040 A. H. at Burhanpur. (7th June, 1631).

CHAPTER II

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

Section I.—Marriage of Dara Shukoh

After the return of the Emperor to Agra preparations for Dara's marriage were resumed under the supervision of Jahanara Begam, assisted by the capable governess Siti-un-nisa Khanam.[1] The princess took the utmost pains to make the celebration of the Crown Prince's nuptials as grand as the deceased Mumtaz might have wished. Out of the total expenses of thirty-two lakhs of Rupees, Jahanara alone contributed 16 lakhs. The *sachaq* (first gifts with the auspicious red dye for the bride), worth two lakhs, was sent on 11th November, 1632 in a magnificent procession, accompanied by the mother, elder sister and paternal aunts of the late Empress (*Pad.* I. A. 453). The actual marriage festivity

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[1] A biographical sketch of Siti-un-nisa Khanam; *Padshahnama*, ii. 628-631; Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*.

came off three months later. In the night of Friday, February 1, 1633 (1st Shaban, 1042), on the occasion of the *henna-bandi* ceremony, a grand *majlis* was held in the court-yard of the Diwan-i-khas; the Emperor for the first time after death of Mumtaz Mahal appeared there in festive apparel to preside at the banquet, and allowed music to play again in the palace. Hundreds of heart-ravishing songstresses entertained the assembly, and from every corner of the hall arose the echo of joy. The hands of Dara were, according to the custom, dyed red with the *henna* (Hindi "Mehdi"; *Lawsonia inermis*), by ladies concealed behind the curtains, while handsome maids came to stain the fingers of distinguished guests with the red dye, and tied their fingers with gold-embroidered handkerchiefs. When this pleasant function came to a close, the guests were dismissed with the customary distribution of sashes (also called *kamar-band*), among them.

Next evening Dara, mounted on a stately charger, was brought to the Public

Audience Hall from his own mansion in a magnificent procession under the escort of the three younger princes. When the Prince stood near the throne after making his obeisance, the Emperor put a string of pearls around his neck and tied on Dara's head the same *sehra* (bridegroom's crown) which had been placed on his own by Jahangir in the night of his marriage with Mumtaz. When two *prahars* and six *gharis* of the night had passed (*i.e.*, after midnight) Qazi Muhammad Islam,[1] the most fanatical Mulla of his time, was sent for to officiate at the marriage ceremony which was performed in the presence of the Emperor. He fixed as the *kabin* of the bride the same amount (*viz.*, five lakhs of Rupees) which had been promised to Mumtaz (*Pad.* I. A. 458-459). The festivities came to a happy close on 8th February (8th Shaban); this day the

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[1] He was so strict a Sunni that when he fell ill he threw into the fire a recipe because it happened to be taken from the work of a Shia doctor! He died in 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.). For a biographical notice, see *Maasir-ul-umara*, iii. 89-91.

Emperor, accompanied by his sons, high nobles and household servants, paid a visit to Dara's house and was entertained most magnificently by that Prince.

SECTION 2.—CONJUGAL LIFE

Though the harem of Dara had the usual supplement of slave-girls, he contracted no other marriage. Stray darts of Cupid, which did not spare even the Puritan Aurangzib,—might have sometimes made the passionate Prince restless; but certainly love was ever present between Dara and his wedded wife Karim-un-nisa, popularly known as Nadira Begam. If we are to believe Manucci, the Prince once fell violently in love with a Hindu dancing-girl named Rana Dil, who refused to yield except on terms of lawful wedlock. His passion was so consuming that when Shah Jahan opposed this unworthy proposal, he began to pine to death. At length the Emperor sanctioned this marriage, and Rana Dil proved as noble and faithful a wife as any high-born

dame.[1] Though based on doubtful testimony, this story is not half as romantic as the account of the love-sickness of Aurangzib in mid-life for the frolicsome Hira Bai (Zainabadi Mahal), to please whom the ideal Musalman of the age once raised the forbidden cup to his lips.

Dara's love for Nadira was not less steadfast and romantic than that of Shah Jahan for Mumtaz. Nor did Nadira in beauty, physical and moral, and in fortitude and devotion, suffer by comparison with her mother-in-law. When once she fell seriously ill at Jahangirabad while travelling with the Court from Lahor to Kabul, Dara most tenderly nursed her for several months.[2] They too never separated in life, and misfortune made their love shine the brighter. All his sons and daughters were born of Nadira Begam; a notice of them is given below.

THE CHILDREN OF DARA SHUKOH AND NADIRA BEGAM.

1. A daughter, born at Agra on Sunday, 29th Rajab, 1043 A.H. (19th January 1634). The

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1 Storia, i. 222, 261.
2 *Pad.* ii. 501, 571, 634.

prudence disapproved of this rash enterprise, and did not allow the Prince to proceed beyond Ghazni. In order to reassure the garrison and the inhabitants of Qandahar, two distinguished officers, Rustam Khan Bahadur Firuz Jung and Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang were sent there with 30,000 horse. About a month afterwards Dara was recalled to Court, and on his arrival at Lahor (2nd September, 1642)[1] was received with all the honours due to a victorious general.

SECTION 6.—AURANGZIB'S FAILURES AT QANDAHAR

For five years after the second expedition of Dara against the Persians, Shah Jahan enjoyed some repose, thanks to the helplessness and minority of the young Shah Abbas II. But the Persian King belied the calculations of his enemy, and suddenly in the depth of winter (January, 1649) appeared before Qandahar with a well-appointed army. Shah Jahan sacrificed this much-coveted possession for the

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[1] Second expedition of Dara towards Qandahar: *Pad.* ii. 291-308.

comfort of a genial winter. Instead of personally taking the field, he sent forward reinforcements under Aurangzib and Sadullah Khan, but the cowardly Mughal garrison surrendered the fort before the arrival of the Prince. Aurangzib laid siege to Qandahar in May, 1649, but was forced to withdraw after three months' vain effort.

Then, after most elaborate preparations for three years, Aurangzib and Sadullah were sent a second time at the head of a grand army 60,000 strong to reconquer Qandahar. The second siege lasted from 2nd May, 1652 to July 1652; but in spite of strenuous digging and bombardment, success seemed as distant as ever. Aurangzib was eager to deliver a general assault with the courage of despair; but the Emperor refused to sanction such a mad enterprise, and ordered him to abandon the siege.

SECTION 7.—DARA APPOINTED TO BESIEGE QANDAHAR: HIS PREPARATIONS

When the army returned crest-fallen from Qandahar to Kabul on 9th July,

1652, Dara offered to lead another expedition to retrieve the prestige of the empire. Accordingly it was decided that next spring the imperial army with the Crown Prince as Commander-in-Chief should start from Lahor against the Persians. The Prince now held the rank of 30,000 *zat*, with a contingent of 20,000 horse, *do-aspah*, *seh-aspah*, which had been the mansab of Shah Jahan before his accession to the throne. Besides, the entire military resources of the empire were placed at his disposal for equipping the expeditionary force. The provinces of Kabul and Multan were added to his viceroyalty and these were to be governed by his deputies, Sulaiman Shukoh and Muhammad Ali Khan respectively.

Dara had hitherto been more renowned as a scholar than as a soldier; and the whole empire expected a surprise. No one had a higher opinion of the ability of the Prince than the Prince himself, and in his estimation an Aurangzib or a Sadullah was only a sorry mediocrity. Naturally impulsive, emotional and un-

reasonably optimistic, his own fancy often imposed upon him; like Peter the Hermit of Gibbon, Dara "believed whatever he wished, and whatever he believed he saw in dreams and visions". His constant exercise of emotion and association with Sufi and Hindu mystics had developed in him a frame of mind, credulous, sensitive and impractical. Optimism now played upon the imagination of the Prince, who was already having dreams about the speedy fall of Qandahar.

It is said that one day during his stay at Kabul two Sufi faqirs came to the Prince's parlour and sat silently hiding their heads in the folds of their patched frocks. After a while one of them raised his head and cried out, "I am now witnessing the affairs of Iran; the Shah of Persia is dead". The second exclaimed "So too am I; but I will not come back till the coffin of the Shah is deposited in the earth". Having heard these words, the Prince said "I also have seen in a vision (*makashfah*), that I shall not be

required to stay at Qandahar for more than seven days, and during these seven days the fort will be conquered............ The death of Shah Abbas may be true". However, he returned to Lahor at the approach of winter and vigorously pushed on his preparations; "whatever could not be done in a year" says Waris, "was completed by the Prince during his stay of 3 months and 9 days at Lahor". (*Lataif*, 7a; Waris 70a). "One may form some idea of the vast stores and siege-materials collected by the Prince", says the author of *Lataif-ul-akhbar*, "from the fact that 6000 bamboos, each of which was not less than ten yards (1 yd. = 42 finger-breadths), in length were got ready for the construction of scaling ladders". (*Lataif*, 8b).

Special attention was paid to the equipment of the Artillery and to the organization of the Army Supplies. The Banjaras, who formed a caste of Army contractors and grain merchants in those days, were bound down to supply grain to the Qandahar army. The gun foundry

of Lahor cast three big guns[1] and seven light pieces (*top-i-hawai*).

The full strength of Artillery went up to 7 big guns, 17 *top-i-hawai*, and 30 smaller pieces; thirty thousand shells, 14,000 rockets and 1,500 maunds of lead, and a proportionate quantity of powder were collected in the munition depot at Lahor.

The personnel of the Artillery consisted partly of well-paid European gunners, and a few military engineers. During his stay

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1 The largest of these was named 'Fath Mubarak' which could discharge a shell weighing 45 seers; upon this was inscribed a pious wish :

Top-i-Dara Shukoh Shah-i-Jahan;
Me-kunad Qandahar-ra wairan.

i.e., May this gun of Dara Shukoh, the lord of the world, devastate Qandahar.

Another gun capable of firing thirty-two-seer shells was given the name of "Kishwar Kusha", and the third bore a Sanskrit name 'Garh-bhanjan'. The biggest piece, capable of firing a shell weighing fifty-six seers (112 lbs.), named 'Qila-kusha' was inscribed with the following couplet :

"*Top-i-Dara Shukoh, Qila-kusha;*
Sar-i-Garjasp me-burd ba-hawa.

i.e., May this gun of Dara Shukoh, named Qila-kusha, fling the head of Garjasp into the air (*Lataif-ul-akhbar 7a, 8a*; Waris, *7b*.)

at Lahor the Prince is said to have ordered the construction of a mock-fort on the model of Qandahar with a view to have a rehearsal of its capture. He then summoned the Feringees, who were expert in sieges, and who had with them books written by them on the science of capturing forts (*kitabha dar an fan sakhtand u ham-rah dashtand*). In these books there were drawings of all imaginable kinds of forts with their description, and methods of making approaches in such and such a manner if the fort were of this or that category. On the appointed day the Prince himself went to witness this mimic siege of Qandahar at Lahor. He visited the two siege batteries erected against the toy-Qandahar, and ordered a bombardment of its walls; and a party was told off to storm and capture it. The Prince received the congratulations of those present, and this event was commemorated in a chronogram "*Fath-i-awwal-i Dara Shukoh*" *i.e.*, the first victory of Dara Shukoh. He returned to the palace, prais-

ing the battery of the Feringees as superior to that of the Hindustanis.[1]

The expeditionary force mobilized at Lahor numbered, according to the official muster-roll, 70,000 horse, made up of the contingents of about 110 Muslim and 58 Rajput officers of rank (ranging from 5-*hazari* to 5-*sadi*) and of troops of the Prince's own establishment. Besides, five thousand mounted match-lockmen and three thousand mounted archers of the Ahadi Corps, ten thousand infantry armed with match-locks, and 60 war-elephants of the imperial stable (exclusive of 170 elephants of the Prince and the mansab-dars), added to its effective strength. The non-combatant establishment of the Army consisted of 6,000 diggers and hatchet-men, 500 stone-cutters and sappers, and 500[2] water-carriers, exclusive of the usual

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1 *Lataif*, MS. 9*a*, 9*b*.

2 The number 500 in this passage of Khafi Khan seems to be a misprint, if not an error; because 500 is too small a number for sappers and water-carriers, considering the size of the army. Five thousand in both cases is perhaps the correct number. Waris says in a subsequent passage that Sayyid Mahmud Barha *with 1070 sappers*..............was appoint-

complement of camp-followers. Preparations having been completed, Dara wrote to the Emperor that the astrologers had fixed 23rd Rabi-ul-awwal (11th February 1653), for starting, and 7th Jamadi-us-sani (25th April), for laying siege to Qandahar. The Emperor directed that the army should march by way of the Thal-Chotiali route *via* Multan, as provisions were abundant between Multan and Qandahar. On this occasion, the Prince received as present jewels, arms, elephants, and horses worth five lakhs of Rupees and one lakh of gold coins and one crore of Rupees for his military chest; in presents and reward to officers and troops another twenty lakhs were spent.[1]

Great enthusiasm prevailed in the army, particularly among the men and officers of the Prince's own contingent, who were all "untried braves" like their master. Their incorrigible optimism irritated those who had grown old in war

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ed to assist Mulla Fazil in the work of draining off the ditch (Waris 74b.)

[1] Khafi Khan, i. 716-17; Waris MS. 70*b*.

and twice returned unsuccessful from Qandahar. Every officer of Dara considered himself a Rustam or an Afrasiyab of the age, and seemed reluctant to share the glory of conquering Qandahar with their imperial auxiliaries. However, Dara relied for his success not so much upon temporal powers as on spiritual forces. He took into his pay a number of "praying Mullas" (*arbab-i-duaat*), who began praying for his victory at Lahor and were taken with the army to Qandahar. In an age of superstition and black magic, nobody however pious and enlightened could ignore the Devil altogether; so the Prince employed also several magicians (*sahiran*), for generating worms (*kiram*) in the food-stuffs of the besieged, and creating dissensions in the ranks of the enemy etc., by their incantations. Thus, armed at all points and having impartially pressed man God and Satan into his service, the Crown Prince took the field against the Persians for the third time.

On 11th February 1653, after three *gharis* of the day had passed, Prince Dara

Shukoh came out of the city of Lahor, and took up his quarters in the camp outside. After a two days' halt he began his march by way of Multan, Doki and Pishin. On 23rd April (5th *Jamadi-us-sani*), the Indian army debouched through the Panjmundrah pass and encamped on the 25th at *Mard-i-qila*, five kos from Qandahar. Thus the auspicious date (7th Jamadi-us-sani), which the astrologers had fixed for starting the siege, was lost through dilatory march. Though the advanced division of the army under Rustam Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang had already reached the fort of Qandahar and the first shots were exchanged, Dara's officers, Abdullah Beg and Jafar, insisted upon having another auspicious day to begin digging trenches, and evidently owing to this the commanders did not occupy their allotted sections in the blockading line immediately after their arrival, but on Thursday, 10th Jamadi-us-sani, 1063 A.H. However the Prince did not occupy his head-quarters in the Garden of Kamran (the ill-fated brother

of Humayun) till seven days later, on another auspicious day, 16th Jamadi-us-sani[1] (4th May 1653).

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1 Dara's march to Qandahar, Waris *74a-74b*; *Lataif*, 9b-13a; according to the latter authority Dara occupied the camp in the Garden of Kamran on Wednesday 16th Jamadi-us-sani, *i.e.*, 4th May, 1653. But Waris says "on the 15th" *i.e.*, 3rd May.

CHAPTER IV

THE THIRD SIEGE OF QANDAHAR

Section I.—Old Qandahar and its outposts

The old city of Qandahar which was destroyed by Nadir Shah in 1738, was situated about two miles outside the modern city on the Herat Road. The city consisted of three distinct parts, each on a separate eminence, and capable of mutual defence. On the serrated crest of the hill stood many towers united by curtains. The highest of these called Lakah, commanded the citadel (named Daulatabad), which stood lower down on the second eminence, while the town and the market-place (*mandi*), both walled round, were situated further below on the first table-land above the eastern plain. The ramparts of the old town which were built of dried clay, strengthened by the mixture of chopped straw and stones,

were at places ten yards broad. On the side of the plain was a wide and deep ditch, and on the north face of the ridge against which the fort nestled, there are forty steps cut in the rock and leading up to a cave half way up the hill (called *Chehel-zina*) which commanded both the citadel and the city. The redoubt of Lakah crowned a peak in the middle of the ridge and defended Qandahar on its western flank, where the hill descends to the plain in a steep scarp. "Proceeding along the hill from the north-eastern corner of the ridge where the wall first leaves the hill, we come in succession to the gates of Baba Wali, Waisqaran, Khwajah Khizir and Mashuri, till at last the wall strikes the ridge again at the south-western corner of the fort, where stood an earth-work bastion and a redoubt". (*Aurangzib*, Vol. 1 & 2, pp. 124-7).

SECTION 2.—DISPOSITIONS OF THE BESIEGING ARMY

On Thursday, 28th April, 1653, the divisional commanders of the army com-

pleted the line of investment by taking up their positions in the following order :—

Beginning from the north-east	
against Baba Wali Gate.	Mahabat Khan, 5-hazari.
against Waisqaran Gate	Qilich Khan, 5-hazari.
between Waisqaran and Khwajah Khizir.	Jafar, Mir-i-Atish of the Prince, with his artillery.
against Khwajah Khizir Gate.	Abdullah, Mir Bakhshi of the Prince, with the infantry.
between Khizir Gate and Mashuri Gate.	Qasim Khan, Mir-i-Atish of the Imperial Artillery, 4-hazari.
against Mashuri Gate.	Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, 5-hazari.
against Chehel-zina Tower	Ikhlas Khan, 3-hazari.
against Lakah Redoubt	Baqi Khan, Champat Rai Bundela, Sayyid Mirza, and others.

Mulla Fazil, Mir-i-Saman of the Prince, was entrusted with the work of draining off the ditch, and Sayyid Mahmud Barha with 1,070 sappers and a contingent of troops was appointed to assist him. On

4th May, the Prince occupied his camp in front of Mirza Kamran's garden to the west of the Lakah hill. Rustam Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang with a strong force was stationed a little ahead to watch the road from Bust, and other *thanas* were put in charge of officers of approved ability.

SECTION 3.—SORTIES AND NIGHT-ATTACKS

On the very first day, a body of Persians came out of the Khizir Gate and challenged the Hindustanis. Khwajah Khan Uzbeg rode out to meet them with a few followers, and pursued the enemy to the edge of the ditch where he lost his horse, and received several bullet-wounds from volleys fired from the rampart. While he was returning, the fugitives turned upon him, and were about to despatch him when a voice of command cried out, "Shame upon you. Let him go away". When the news reached the ears of the Prince, he sent for Khwajah Khan and gave him a special *khilat* and a horse,

besides an increase of 200 *sawar* in his *mansab*.

A party of three hundred Persians fell upon the men of Izzat Khan's trench, when they had assembled for prayer early at dawn, on the 2nd Ramzan (17th July, 1653), killing and wounding many men. Had it not been for the brave succour of Qutb Khan and Shams Khan, sons of Nazar Bahadur Kheshgi, a great disaster would have befallen them. These two brothers had 31 of their men wounded, and the troops of Mahabat Khan, who encountered the Persians near their trench during their retreat, lost 14 in killed, and 31 wounded.

Izzat Khan, a favourite servant of Dara concealed the extent of his loss (about 90 in wounded and killed), carried some corpses of the Persians killed elsewhere to his own trench, and showed them to the officer deputed to enquire, as the trophies of the heroism of his own men![1]

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[1] *Lataif-ul-akhbar*, 76a-77a. "The official account in *Padshah-nama*, apparently based upon the despatches of Dara

Sorties became more frequent towards the close of the siege, specially upon the trenches of Dara's favourite Jafar. The Persians were as vigilant in night-watch as the Hindustanis were negligent. They often crept silently into the trenches, and returned after leaving headless trunks of sappers as the ghastly memorial of their nocturnal visits. In the night of 24th May, Fath Muhammad Kalal the *darogha* of the *beldars* (diggers) in the trench of Qasim Khan, went out with four

—says "Sorties were few and none successful; but once owing to the negligence of the men in Mahabat Khan's trench some of the Khan's men were killed and some wounded; when the Persians were returning, men of Izzat Khan's trench who were near punished them, killing several of the Persians" (Waris 77b). That Dara had subscribed to a false report about this affair became the general talk in the camp. The author of *Lataif-ul-akhbar* says, "As from the very start it became clear that the Crown Prince wished that all the credit of efforts in capturing this fortress should go to his own servants, particularly to Jafar and Izzat Khan, ... whatever the soldiers of Mahabat Khan did to punish the enemy, drive them away, and prevent them from carrying off their dead went to the credit of Izzat Khan in reports to the Emperor; the plea put forward was the presence of two slain enemies which the men of Izzat Khan picked up in front of Mahabat Khan's battery. . . . . no mention of Qutb Khan and Shams Khan. . . . . . . " (78b-79b).

beldars to the trench-head; next morning their corpses were found lying without their heads. The same night another party slipped across, the ground between the posts of Mahabat Khan and Qilich Khan into the field lying behind their lines, killed 3 men, and hamstrung four horses (*Lataif*, 31 b). Even the cautious Bundela chiefs were not immune from such unpleasant surprises; at midday on 30th June, noticing the men in the trenches of Pahar Singh Bundela off their guard, a party of the besieged came upon them and slew about 60 people; some troops of Pahar Singh pursued them and lost 20 more from the fire of the fort (*ibid* 58*a*). On the 3rd of Ramzan (18th July) about 30 Persian musketeers came down to the Lakah Hill, cut the throats of four camels and five cows which were grazing on the ground between the battery of Champat Rai Bundela and that of Baqi Khan, and were carrying away the lawful flesh when they were set upon by several hundred imperialists; more Persians came to the rescue of their comrades and volleys

were exchanged; but the Persians got away with their fat game (79 b). These are but a few typical incidents of frequent occurrence during the siege.

SECTION 4.—MAGIC AND MIRACLES

Though Dara Shukoh was a sincere lover of God, it was no part of his creed to make God's quarrel his own. He brought from Lahor some workers of black magic along with a number of learned and pious *ulemas* as a supplement to his warlike equipment. One of these was a Hindu *sannyasi*, evidently a Tantric Sadhu, named Indra Gir, who had long enjoyed the Prince's wine and victuals on the promise of working a miracle at Qandahar. He was looked upon as "the master of forty genii (*deo*)", whom he could employ to fill the ditch by pulling down its walls. On 3rd May Indra Gir was called upon to summon his *deos*, and try them against the fort, which seemed invincible to human efforts. Quite confidently he walked to the ditch to demand an entrance into the fort, and said

in reply to the challenge of the Persian sentry, "I am one of the intimate associates of the Prince; I wish to see this fort, and smoke a *chilam* of tobacco on that high tower." The Persians took him inside the fort; and it was afterwards learnt from the deserters that he was taken to their chief who ordered that he should be taken round the fort, and entertained with a *chilam* of tobacco. The Persian commander sanctioned for him the usual jug of wine, food and other necessaries which Dara used to supply every day to Indra Gir.

When Indra Gir became very importunate about going back, the suspicion of the Persians was aroused and he was put to the rack (*shikanja*). He revealed his secret under torture, and was employed to carry water for the Persians on duty in the Lakah redoubt. The Persian commander asked Indra Gir to practise some magic (*sahiri*) which would compel the Mughal army to retreat. But when he was disappointed with the *sannyasi*, he ordered that Indra Gir should be taken to the top

of the Jamrud-shahi hill, and flung down below to join his comrades of the nether world (*Lataif*, 18a)

On 23rd July, a *Haji* appeared in the camp of Dara. Under the cloak of piety he was a magician and a hypnotist (*Sahir u chasham-band*), and told the Prince that he had come from the country of Kanaur (Ganaur?) to secure the reduction of Qandahar by prayers and magic. He declared that he could by his incantations silence the fort-guns and muskets for one *pas* (3 hours) and two *gharis*, which was time enough for a few bold men to capture it. The Prince sanctioned for him free rations and Rs. 20 *per diem* as remuneration, and with some difficulty met a further demand for two dancing-girls, two gamblers, two thieves, one buffalo, a lamb and five cocks, requisitioned by the magician. Next came a Jogi with 40 disciples and desired to offer a special prayer, which would secure the submission of the garrison within twenty days. He retired to a secluded place with his party, being granted free provisions and Rs. 100 daily

for other expenses. Several Deccani Sadhus, called *Gurus*[1] who professed to be seventeenth century Count Zeppelins, undertook to build for the Prince a "wonderful thing which could carry two or three persons with hand-grenades (*huqqah*), and fly in the air without wings and feathers. They were allowed to make the experiment, free provisions and Rs. 40 *per diem* being sanctioned for them. (*Lataif*, 85*a*, 85*b*).

Next day, the 24th July, the Naqibs moved from tent to tent, crying out to the soldiers to get ready for scaling the ramparts. At noon the Haji came, and after a while he disappeared from view, but having reappeared at the close of the day said, "I have been inside the fort. . . . Tuesday noon I shall take the soldiers with me". This was again deferred to Monday next. In the night of 26th July, the magician performed some diabolical rites for Jafar. The Haji lighted a lamp

1 The author of *Dabistan* mentions a class of Kashmiri Brahmans, called *Guruva gurina* (Shea, ii. 103).

and threw some grains of pulse (*mash*), upon it: then he fell into a weird dance, now jumping a yard high into the air, and now falling upon the ground. At the close of the dance, a dog was sacrificed before the lamp, and also the lamb and cocks ; then turning to the dancing-girls, gamblers, and thieves he said, "It is obligatory to sacrifice you all; however, I shall give my own blood instead of yours; you are free". He inflicted a wound on his own thigh and taking out some blood of his own sprinkled it upon the blood of the slain beasts; again he fell to dancing which continued for some time. . . . Jafar was then called in, and ordered to wash his sword with the sacrificial blood which would make it cut through steel; he was further assured that these rites had made him an Achilles without Achilles' heel.

Next day when only four *gharis* of night remained, Jafar armed his followers and keeping them in absolute readiness went to wake up the Haji for silencing the fort-guns. The magician opened his

eyes reluctantly and said, "Mirza Jafar, three *deos* (genii) are guarding this fortress, with them I had a tough fight last night, in the course of which several times I had to go up into the sky and come down to earth. I have as yet succeeded in subduing two *deos*, who are safe in my custody; but the third, which is the most turbulent of the three, is still at large guarding the fort-walls. Let the attack be postponed till Monday next, because I hope to capture the refractory one by that time".

The activity of the magician on behalf of Jafar had been noised abroad, and evidently reached the Persians, who performed some counter-magic on Friday and threw down the carcase of a dog with its belly cut open and filled with boiled rice. They are said to have done the same thing and thrown the carcase of a dog into the trench of another officer, Rajah Rajrup of the Jammu hills, who was contemplating an assault on the Chehel-zina Tower. However, Jafar again went to the Haji on the appointed day with unabated enthu-

siasm;[1] the Haji told him that he had despaired of rounding up the third *deo*, and that unless the two captive *deos* were released, he himself might lose his life at their hands; the enterprise should therefore be given up definitely!

SECTION 5.—THE CAPTURE OF BUST AND GIRISHK

On May 13, 1653, Rustam Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang left the camp at the head of a well-appointed army of 15,000 troops for the subjugation of Bust and other dependencies of Qandahar. He reached Bust on 21st May, made a demonstration, and sent a messenger to Mahdi Quli Khan advising him to surrender. As the Persians prepared to hold out, Rustam Khan requisitioned a big gun and some sappers from Qandahar, and blockaded the fort. When the big gun arrived, Mahdi Quli sued for terms and surrendered the fort on the tenth day of the siege (Waris, 76 a). But another

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[1] *Lataif* MS. 86*a*; 86*b*; 87*a*; 89*b*, 90*a*. Recently an almost similar story of a "Master of Ghosts" appeared in the *Statesman*, Saturday, 9th Feb. 1929.

version of the fall of Bust is found in the non-official history, *Lataif-ul-akhbar;* it is said there that on the seventh day of the siege Rustam Khan spread a false story of the fall of Qandahar, and ordered a great rejoicing in his camp; Mahdi Quli was deceived by the ruse, and the fort was secured before a single shot had been fired from the newly-arrived big gun, which was nevertheless named "*the Aman-talab*"! (*Lataif*, 35 b).

Rustam Khan induced Mahdi Quli to write a letter to his son (who was in charge of the fort of Girishk, 30 miles higher up on the bank of the Helmand), to come over and accompany him to Hindustan; Mahdi Quli's son evacuated Girishk, but fled to Farah. On 29th Shaban (15th July, 1653), Rustam Khan sent a detachment to punish Mirza Muhammad Raushan Gurji in the neighbourhood of Zamin Dawar. In the last week of July he himself made a raid across the Helmand to disperse an assemblage of Persians near the village of Nauzad (?). Rustam Khan was next

A novice in the trade of arms, Dara thought of scaring away the guards of the towers by an incessant discharge of rockets, without any storming party to seize the moment of the enemy's confusion. For two consecutive nights, 7th and 8th May, several thousand rockets were discharged to the great delight of the Persians who had never seen a more brilliant display of fireworks. Highly pleased with the rocket-men and the officers in command, Dara gave a reward of Rs. 20 to each man, and a promotion of 100 *zat* to Muhammad Sadiq and Mir Shihab-ud-din.

On 10th May, Jafar was temporarily shifted to a new position to erect a heavy battery against the eastern tower on the Chehel-zina. The bombardment was ineffectual, and the Persians silenced some of his guns. The charge of the battery was given at last to the right man, Rajah Rajrup of the Kangra Hills, who had distinguished himself by his attack on this hill in the second siege. Dara gave Rajrup a promotion of 500 *zat*, 500 *sawar*, and

was all praise for him (6th June). But shortly afterwards, Rajrup's neighbour and hereditary enemy, Rajah Man Gwaliori, who had been a rival of Rajrup's father in the first siege, got possession of the Prince's ears and coveted Rajrup's command. Rajrup, who had lost 46 men killed and 160 wounded in carrying forward the work, determined to hazard an attack at all cost. On 20th June he communicated the time of assault to the commanders of the batteries to his right and left, and also formally to the Prince for approval. Dara's astrologers found the time "after 5 gharis" inauspicious, because of the presence of the sun in the sign of "the Cancer" which was not favourable, considering the position of the tower. Rajrup received positive orders to alter the time to "after the 18th ghari". But before the astrologically correct time arrived, a younger brother of Jafar, who had been ailing for a long time, expired. This was considered as a bad omen and the order for attack was altogether cancelled; poor Rajrup suffered a further loss

of 5 men killed, and about 20 wounded in recalling his advance-party.

Three days after this, Dara in a fit of anger called Rajrup (in his absence) a liver-less fox and said, "Send him to the trench of Jafar, who will teach him well how to serve, and hand over his battery to Rajah Man Gwaliori". Qazi Afzal firmly defended Rajrup, and saved him from this humiliation. On 15th July Vallabh Chauhan was asked to take over the charge of Chehel-zina from Rajrup; but he excused himself saying "I am a man of the plain and not a mountaineer; I am ignorant of hill-fighting". This threw the Prince into a rage, and he ordered that the Chauhan should be forthwith conducted to the trench of Jafar; but he relented soon and recalled him on his way to Jafar's. Vallabh was allowed to relieve Devi Singh Bundela, who was appointed to the charge of Chehel-zina (*Lataif*, 72b). But this post was henceforth neglected, all resources being now concentrated in filling the ditch and pushing

forward the trenches in the main line of blockade.

On 14th September (2nd Zilqada), the works in the Chehel-zina[1] battery were dismantled; Devi Singh handed over the materials to Rajrup, who was now required to co-operate with Jafar in pushing the approach to Sher Haji, a bastion of the fort near the Khwajah Waisqaran gate. As a colleague of Jafar, everything went on well with Rajrup; Dara gave him Rs. 5000 in reward to relieve his immediate distress, and Rs. 5000 more was

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1 Chehel-zina; Rajrup's bravery is praised by Waris :—"Rajrup . . . . drove the trench to the foot of the Chehel-zina and although a gun was sent to him the bombardment was ineffectual. . . . . . An assault was made on one of the towers, but the garrison used naphtha; many men were wounded; the Prince ordered Rajrup to desist. . . . . Next he was given charge of a battery midway between those of Jafar and Qilich Khan" (76a). The big gun referred to is evidently the Aman-talab, which was returned to Rajrup's battery on 14th June, after Bust had surrendered (*Lataif*, 43a). The attack, mentioned above, was not upon Chehel-zina, but on a redoubt on the Lakah hill, delivered in the night of 14th July by Rajrup in concert with three other officers, Champat Rai Bundela, Devi Singh and Sayyid Mahmud. The imperialists meditated a surprise; but they themselves were cruelly surprised, and Rajah Rajrup, whose men were foremost, suffered heavily, the pick of his contingent being destroyed. (*Ibid*, 70b).

promised to him when his trench would reach the foot of Sher Haji.

Such is the treatment which most of his officers received at the hands of Dara. It was only human that in the civil war Rajrup shrank from siding with him against Aurangzib and even turned hostile to Dara.

SECTION 7.—SAPPING

The formidable chain of posts which had been established against the main gates on the eastern side of Qandahar slowly approached the ditch by running sheltered trenches. The battery of Jafar became the pivot of the whole siege operations, which caused jealousy and heart-burning among the officers in charge of the other batteries. They complained of the partiality of the Prince for Jafar, and resented Jafar's airs and brag. Two big guns, *Top-i-Mariam* and *Qila-kusha*, reached the camp on 6th August, and six days later came *Fath-i-Mubarak* (Fath-i-lashkar ?). But these guns were found worse than useless, as no iron-shells of

the proportionate size and strength had been brought from Lahor. The Prince had listened to the suggestion of one of his favourites that it would be more economical and convenient to take stone-cutters with the army and have stone-balls of hard granite prepared there from the inexhaustible quarries of Qandahar. But the wicked *darogha* of stone-cutters made balls of soft stone with the result that when these were fired from the Qila-kusha, they burst in the air injuring the gunners themselves. Stone-balls were now wrapped with *san* (hemp-twine) to prevent their bursting to a certain extent. Some of the Feringhee gunners deserted to the Persians, and others proved hardly more efficient than the Hindustanis. Though 27,000 rounds of ammunition are said to have been fired, no practicable breach was made, nor could they silence the Persian artillery.

The besiegers worked hard to drain off the ditch by blowing away the dams. One spring was emptied on 13th July, but three days later it was reported by

Qasim Khan and Abdullah that the water in front of their position which had fallen to knee-deep was now neck-high. Even when they at length succeeded in emptying the ditch, it was very difficult to keep it dry, as water began to flow in through mysterious channels near the edge of the Sher Haji. However, the ditch was filled up in front of Jafar's battery by throwing into it logs of wood and bags of earth. At any rate, it ceased to be an obstacle to the storming party. But the Persian fire, particularly their musketry, was so galling and accurate that the Hindustanis dared not come out of their raised batteries (*damdamah*), and sand-bag ramparts.

Jafar constructed a magnificent structure, 75 yards in length, 55 yards in breadth and 27 yards in height, and mounted ten small guns upon it. He made a huge *damdamah* (covered platform) in which 20 men could stand erect at ease to carry on the work of mining. According to the official report, about 300 yards of the rampart, and the wall of

the Sher Haji were battered down by the artillery of the Prince. Jafar and Izzat Khan (the latter commanded a battery against the Sher Haji), claimed to have made practicable breaches in their front. The Prince, who would believe his own favourites against the rest of the world, accepted their version without any personal inquiry or a visit to these reported breaches. It was rather risky on the part of any officer to contradict the Prince on this point, because it would be set down to the cowardice or disloyalty of the speaker.

SECTION 8.—PREPARATIONS FOR ASSAULT

On August 21, Dara made a distribution of armour and cuirasses and designated officers to different batteries in contemplation of a general assault two days afterwards. It was notified by beat of drum, says the author of *Lataif-ul-akhbar*, that on the day of assault, those who were not sepoys and did not possess the necessary courage to go to the attack, should *be ready to offer prayers (ba-*

saadat-i-bandagi); a price of Rs. 5 was put on every head of a Qizilbash; and one *ashrafi* for every Persian prisoner brought in alive.[1] The Prince having thus decided his own line of action without even consulting the senior nobles, called together his chiefs next day to sound their opinion; but it only served to irritate and insult them further. All came except Qilich Khan, who sent word that he would come in the afternoon as he had taken a purgative (*julab*). Dara, turning towards Mahabat Khan,[2] said,

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1 *Lataif* 121b—122a.

2 Mahabat Khan, Mirza Lohrasp, son of the notorious Mahabat Khan who made a captive of Jahangir (*M. U.* iii. 590-595). Manucci says "It happened that Mahabat Khan's soldiers killed one of Dara's men. Falling into a rage, and without inquiry into the matter, he ordered his troops to be collected with orders to drag Mahabat Khan before him. . . . . . Shah Jahan ordered a severe reproof to be administered to Dara. . . . . After this incident Mahabat Khan bore a grudge against him." (*Storia*, i. 225). Whether the above incident, for which Manucci is the only authority—took place before the Qandahar campaign or after it, is not known. Dara who listened to backbiters, had differences with Mahabat Khan from the very start of the siege; the trouble being due to the knavery and impudence of Dara's own servants. When the author of *Lataif-ul-akhbar* went to explain the difficulties of pushing the trench to Dara's secretary Faqir Khan, the latter

"Breaches have been opened opposite the batteries of Izzat Khan and Jafar. What do you advise about an assault?" Mahabat replied "We are servants; we have nothing else to do except carrying out your orders. Kings only can advise a king." Dara attempted flattery, but ended with harsh words of threat; "Why do you not speak plainly" said the Prince, "that attack is advisable, and that fighting shoulder to shoulder with others you will carry it by storm? Your father conquered the famous fort of Daulatabad. . . . . You seem to think of returning home without capturing Qandahar. Better banish such a vain and mischievous idea from your mind." Next, he asked Nejabat Khan,[1] a 5-hazari

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uttered some disrespectful words to the Khan (May 11, 1653; *Lataif* 24 a). This Mahabat Khan was the man who had the hardihood to tell Aurangzib to his very face in an assembly that no soldier was required to fight with Shiva "The Qazi (Abdul Wahab) will put Shiva down". (*M. U.* iii, 594).

1 Nejabat Khan, Mirza Shuja (*M. U.* iii, 821-828). Previous to the Qandahar campaign, Nejabat, while faujdar of Saharanpur, was tempted by the report of gold mines to make a raid into the country of the *Nak-kati Rani* who ruled in Srinagar in the Kumaon Hills. He managed to escape with

to give his opinion on the feasibility of an assault. Nejabat submitted that it would be better if for three or four days more the guns were kept employed in levelling down the rampart. Dara silenced him by saying, "You seem to insinuate that no breaches have been effected. . . . . No matter whether there is a breach or not, an assault must be delivered." Then he turned to Mirza Rajah Jai Singh Kachchwah and said abruptly, "Rajah Jiu, your exertions in the Emperor's business have fallen short of expectation from the very start (of the siege).[1] No plea will be heard now. . . . .

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his nose, leaving honour and gold behind (*ibid* 822). The attitude of Nejabat was very objectionable from the beginning. He refused to take up his position before the Ab-dozd-gate, and on being asked to go to Bust with Rustam Khan, he at first declined and was afterwards persuaded by his colleagues to do so. (*Lataif*, 19a, 24a, 25a). He, however, regained the Prince's favour for a while, and was recalled to Qandahar.

1 Alluding to the Rajah's plea of inability to push forward his trench more quickly. The Rajah turned away the Prince's man saying, "We Rajputs are not very clever in digging trenches and in siege-work. Better let the Prince hand over this battery to whomsoever he pleases." (May 28, 1653; *Lataif* 35a). On 15th *Ramzan* (30th July) Jai Singh was sent for by Dara, who made a very earnest request to him to make

If your objection is that no breach has been made in front of your battery, I give you Jafar's." The Rajah, declining the offer, said, "By the time Jafar and Izzat Khan will get into the fort through the breaches (made by them), I shall be able to do the same by fixing scaling-ladders to the wall." Dara enquired, "If so, on what date do you agree to deliver

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an assault, holding out many bright promises. But the Rajah kept a very sullen attitude without speaking a word in reply for a considerable time. At last he came away giving the Prince a cold and evasive reply (*Lataif*, 94b, 95a). *Vide* my paper at the Ninth Meeting, Indian Historical Records Commission, Lucknow.

For a biographical sketch of Jai Singh—meagre and unsatisfactory—see *M. U.* iii. 568-576. Letters have of late come to light in the Jaipur Archives, showing that Dara was on very intimate terms with the Rajah. The coolness between the two during the Qandahar campaign cannot be explained in any other way except by the fact that the Rajah resented Dara's partiality for Jafar and others, and became disgusted with the childish follies and unrestrained speeches of Dara. Manucci says that Dara once insulted Jai Singh by humorously remarking that the Rajah looked like a musician (*Storia*, i, 225). At Qandahar too Dara flung a similar taunt at the Rajah : "This is the third time that you have come to Qandahar. If you fail this time also. . . . . . . .how will you show your face to the women of Hindustan? In truth women are better than the men who have returned again and again from this place." (*Lataif*, 20a, see also 84b).

the attack?" The other replied "I have nothing to do with agreements and assurances; I have simply to obey your command." The Prince cried out in a passion, "What words are these? You must say plainly whether an assault is advisable or not. If you mean to keep yourself aloof from the affair, give it to me in writing, so that I may either order a retreat to Hindustan or recall Rustam Khan Bahadur and make an attack with his advice." The Rajah replied, "I am prepared to give it in writing that I am always in favour of an attack, and also ever ready to deliver it." Dara retorted, "Your heart and tongue do not seem to agree. What is in your heart, your tongue does not give out, and whatever your tongue utters finds no echo in your heart. If they are in unison, why do you not say straightway that you consider an assault to be advisable and that by a concerted effort you will capture the fort?" He continued "Perhaps it has occurred to you that I shall return without conquering Qandahar. If I do so, how can

I show my face to the Padshah?" The Rajah rejoined, "Your Highness is the very light of the Emperor's eyes. Whenever His Majesty's glance will light upon your Highness's world-illuminating countenance, it will be quite welcome. But how shall we humble servants show *our* faces?" The Prince ironically remarked, "You have twice shown this very face to His Majesty; the difficulty is rather with me, for whom this will be the first occasion for doing it." More unpleasant words followed, the Prince, being highly disgusted with these fearless rejoinders on equal terms, cut short the unhappy altercation with the words, "Whether you agree to the proposal of assault or not, *I do command you to make an assault*, no matter whether you die or conquer the fort . . . ." He then solemnly recited the *Fatiha* and gave the above-mentioned nobles leave to depart.

Dara not only embittered the feelings of the three most powerful nobles of the Empire, but also unknowingly sowed the seed of mutual jealousy between his two

confidants by his tactless praise of Jafar in the presence of Izzat Khan. "Had there been two more men like thee," said the Prince in appreciation of Jafar's optimism and flattering vaunt, "by this time the affair of this fort would have been decided". Jafar, Izzat Khan and Rajah Rajrup were the three persons who gave their opinion in favour of an assault. Qilich Khan came in the afternoon; but even before being asked to take his seat, he was told by the Prince that an assault had been decided upon, and that the Khan might go after the *Fatiha* had been read.

On August 23, (Tuesday, 9th Shawwal) the troops, kept under arms all night, were inspected by the Prince in their respective posts. When about 3 *gharis* of the night remained, the storming parties rushed for their objectives at the signal of the Prince. Like Xerxes witnessing the battle of Salamis from his golden throne, Dara watched the fate of his troops from the shelter of a house on the top of the well-known hill, *Chehel-*

dokhtaran. (Eminence of the Forty daughters).[1] What followed next has been very graphically described by the author of *Lataif-ul-akhbar*, who at the command of Mahabat Khan took his stand on a height near his battery and reported the progress of the attack to the Khan seated securely within the *damdamah* (raised battery.)

Section 9.—Assault delivered

We begin with the battery of Izzat Khan. Jahangir Beg with two war-elephants and 1000 mail-clad horsemen rushed for the breach which seemed almost deserted. The Persians with great coolness reserved their fire till the Mughals were well within the range of arrow and bullet. A tremendous volley of artillery and musket fired at point blank range put the Mughal elephants and horsemen to

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[1] On 10th Ramzan, 25th July the Prince ordered Chandra Bhan his *Bayyutat* (superintendent of household stores and workshops) to select a site, from which he might witness the deeds of valour of his troops on the day of assault. Chandra Bhan having chosen a house in the declivity of a hill, known as *Chehel-dokhtaran*, the Prince visited the place. (*Lataif*, 89a).

flight. Izzat Khan, so the envious camp gossip went, was busy sprinkling his body with rose-water (*jama-ra wa kardah gulab bar khud me-bashid*), when the signal for the assault was given. He followed the advance-party of Jahangir Beg with a body of troops, but returned to his own trench without making any effort to rally his men and renew the attack.[1] Mahabat Khan was all the while sitting inside his trench listening to the reports of the author of *Lataif-ul-akhbar*. One shell accidentally burst near him and killed a soldier who was sitting just opposite; but the Khan escaped unharmed. He returned to his own position in the rear when Izzat Khan turned his back upon the enemy.

Qilich from the right, and Mirza Abdullah and Qasim Khan from the left of Jafar's battery, made for the breach with great courage and coolness; but

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1 The allegation may be true. Waris simply states, "Men who had advanced from the direction of the battery of Izzat Khan . . . . . became exposed to fire from three sides." (*Waris*, 78b).

Jafar, as the ungenerous rumour in the camp went—was calmly eating his bread with onions and enjoying a dessert of water-melon (*nan o piyaz o hinduana me-khurd*).[1] However, the fight was very obstinate at this point. In the face of a terrible fire[2] and determined resistance, the Mughals struggled hard but had to withdraw after suffering a casualty of 557 dead, besides numerous wounded. Nejabat Khan and Rajah Mukund Singh Hada, who had been ordered to the battery of Jafar, are said to have remained inactive during the attack. Nejabat Khan had some grievances against Dara, but we do not know why the famous Hada chief who afterwards laid down his life for Dara at Samugarh, acted so feebly on this occasion. It is said that Nejabat Khan asked the Hada chief why he was not sending his men to the attack; the latter replied, "These men who are with me are not ordi-

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1 *Lataif*, 134a. "Jafar from his battery urged his men forward to the attack." (*Waris*, 78b).

2 The Persians used flaming "sheets (*chadar*), steeped in *naphtha*." (Waris, 78b).

nary mercenaries but my own brethren and kinsmen; I cannot send them where I myself will not go." The Khan retorted, "There ought not to be any consideration for brother or son in the Emperor's business." Stung to the quick, the fiery Hada rose up, and taking Muhammad Quli, the eldest son of Nejabat Khan by the hand, proceeded towards the rampart. When the Khan found out that the Rajah was in no mood for jest, he in fear of his son's life ran barefooted to turn them back! Rajah Jai Singh, highly incensed against Dara, made no effort worthy of mention. Only two men from his trench came out with scaling-ladders; but they were immediately brought down by the Persian bullets, and the business ended there in this section of the assault.

On the western face four detachments under the command of Sayyid Mahmud Barha, Lashkar Khan, Muhammad Aqil, and Mirak Ataullah (Bakhshi of the Ahadis), attempted to carry the Qaitul ridge and the Lakah redoubt by surprise. Sayyid Mahmud

with a good number of Sayyids died in a rash advance against the tremendous cross-fire of the enemy. Lashkar Khan with one thousand Baksariya (men of Buxar) match-lockmen, and accompanied by some notable chiefs, such as Badan Singh Bhadauriya and Champat Rai Bundela, silently climbed to the foot of the rampart of the Lakah redoubt, and was about to get to the top by means of scaling-ladders. But unfortunately the Persians detected the movement and overwhelmed the assailants with stones, killing 30 men outright. Muhammad Aqil worsted a party of Persians in a hand to hand fight; but a chance bullet killed his ally Ataullah, whereupon the Ahadis retreated hurriedly; Aqil and Devi Singh Bundela, being thus left without succour, could not maintain their position, and had to retire with heavy loss.

The tumult continued for four hours till one *prahar* of the next day. About one thousand men were killed, and about the same number wounded. As soon as Dara returned to his tent, the music of victory

began to play within the fort. The Persians brought dancing-girls to spots within sight of the Mughal batteries, *made them dance* to amuse their enemies, and enjoyed the day to their heart's content, making merry faces at the Hindustanis. Next day the Persian commander allowed the Musalmans in the Mughal army to carry away and bury the dead bodies of the Musalmans only, while he gathered together 500 heads of the Hindus, leaving their headless trunks to the birds of prey.[1]

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[1] For references :—*Lataif*, 112*a*—133*b*; Waris 77*b*. Both authorities agree about the date (9th Shawwal, 1063), objectives and details of attack. Waris says that each of the big guns fired 100 rounds during the night of assault about which *Lataif-ul-akhbar* is silent; again, Waris puts the number of casualties at 1000, but the latter says that on the western front alone, the figure amounted to that number in wounded and slain (the exact number of the dead not being ascertained), exclusive of 557 dead in the eastern batteries. Waris is very discreet and gives substantially correct details of the assault, without any reflection on the scandalous conduct of the great nobles. He says that the Ahadis, even after the death of their captain, fought valiantly but others fled down the ridge at the sight of the carnage in the ranks of the Ahadis.

Section 10.—Last phase of the siege

Mutual recriminations followed the failure of this attack; the other imperialists taunting Jafar and Izzat Khan with cowardice, and the latter accusing Mahabat Khan and Rajah Jai Singh of neglect of duty. But whatever the people might say in private, no one could have the hardihood to tell Dara that Jafar had done nothing during the attack (*Hichra qudrat-i-an nist ke be-goyaid ke Jafar kar-e na-kard*; *Lataif*, 128b).

Dara, who had been much cast down, was thus consoled by Jafar: "Why should your Highness grieve at the loss of soldiers who are entertained in service with the very purpose of being sacrificed in action? As regards the assault, your Highness may be pleased to enquire that Shah Abbas (the Second) captured the fort after more than one assault." He sent away Mahabat Khan to Bust under the ostensible plea of reinforcing the troops of Rustam Khan (25th August), and Rajah

Jai Singh[1] to the Shutar-gardan pass to keep watch for the rumoured approach of a Persian army (30th August). Qilich Khan was the only 5-hazari who, in spite of his ill-feeling towards the favourites of Dara, had behaved most loyally on the day of assault. Dara now made an earnest appeal to the Khan to save him from the ignominy of failure. He offered him absolute command over

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1 Feelings between Jai Singh and Dara continued to be bitter till the end of the campaign. "On 25th Shawwal (Sept. 8, 1653) Dara sent Shaham Quli to the Rajah with the following message. "I hear you are oppressing the people and cutting trees from their gardens. *Had you displayed such destructive energy* beneath the *walls* of *Qandahar*, you could have by this time probably captured this fort by pulling down all its walls." The Rajah replied. . . . . . . "Fortunately within two or three *kos* of my encampment there are no gardens from which my men are likely to gather fuel by cutting down trees." The messenger of Dara also reported that in the neighbourhood of the Rajah's camp no garden could be seen, and that the person who gave such an information must have told a lie. (*Lataif*, 146a). Again, on 1st Zilqada (September 13, 1653) the Rajah in reply to Dara's letter asking him to be present at Qandahar on the 4th of that month for making another attack, sent word to the Prince, "The assault cannot be made by me. Your Royal Highness may inflict any punishment for this fault of mine. I have no more business with Qandahar." (*Ibid*, 151b).

all the batteries and promised him the rank of a *haft-hazari* (7000 *zat*, 7000 horse, *do-aspah*, *seh-aspah*) with the title of Khan-i-Khanan. Qilich Khan, a wary old soldier, nibbling at the bait, said "The siege is drawing to a close; to ask me to take charge of the work at this stage is *to give the tail of the fish into my hand* (*dum-i-mahi ba-dast-i-man dadanast*)." He, however, pledged his word to do his utmost and accepted the task of directing the siege. Dara was so much overjoyed that he embraced the Khan and gave him a kiss on the neck at the time of his departure (*Lataif*, 135b). A few days afterwards Qilich Khan[1] advised Dara to recall the troops of Rustam Khan Bahadur for delivering another assault. The siege dragged on for a month more, which was characterized by feverish activity and a desperate effort to mine and bombard the

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1 Qilich Khan Turani (*M. U.* iii, 92). He was an honest blunt soldier who had spent a considerable portion of his life in fighting with the Persians in Qandahar. Alternate coaxing and neglect marked the behaviour of Dara to this veteran soldier.

ramparts and the fortifications of the Sher Haji.

SECTION 11.—CAUSES OF DARA'S FAILURE

The superiority of the means of defence over those of attack in siege-warfare in the seventeenth century, united with the fervent patriotism and invincible pride of Persia, rolled back the onset of the aggressive Mughal Imperialism. The army of the Great Mughals had always been an unwieldy mass of irregulars, stiffened by native and foreign mercenaries representing a dozen nationalities. Within India the Mughal army owed its splendid success not so much to its military efficiency as to other factors, such as the solidarity and common patriotism of Islam against the non-Muslims, the caste dissensions and hereditary clan-feuds of the Hindus, and the proverbial indifference of the Indian people to political issues and the fate of their rulers. But against Persia the Emperor of Delhi could make no such appeal in the name of religion or of country to the Muslim section

of his army, which was mostly reinforced by the brain and arm of Persian emigrants to Hindustan; while the Kachchwah and the Rathor had not half as much zest in a fight with the Safavis as against the Sisodias. Mutual jealousy among contingents of *mansabdars* and tribal units, and absence of discipline and drill prevented the growth of any *esprit de corps* in the army and made co-operation impossible except under the vigilant eyes of a masterful personality. Envy and a passion for individual distinction, as opposed to comradeship and devotion to a common cause, were undoubtedly the driving forces in a Mughal army—a fact borne out by the whole military history of the Mughal Empire. Even an Aurangzib was helpless against these inherent defects of the Mughal army.

However, no one can overlook some grave defects of Dara's character which were responsible not only for his ill-success at Qandahar but also for the tragic failure of his whole political career. He identified himself with a party, with men of his

own contingent, and gave his confidence blindly to a few upstarts without experience but with a good deal of knavery and presumption. This widened the breach between him and the high nobles who suspected that the Crown Prince was not disposed to grant equal opportunities to all to distinguish themselves. The result was that they desired not so much the capture of Qandahar as the humiliation of the favourites of Dara. He lacked the force of character and tact necessary for holding together the mutually repellent elements of his army. Disobedience and defiance[1] characterized the conduct not only of the 5-hazaris but also of persons of lesser note. Not only was there a

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[1] To quote only a few instances :—

(1) Muhammad Aqil comes away from Jafar's battery, demands an independent charge, and secures it (25th May; *Lataif*, 31 b).

(2) Nusrat Khan refuses to serve in Jafar's trench and threatens to resign (15th August; *ibid*, 114 b).

(3) Shams Khan and Qutb Khan reject the Prince's offer of pardon and refuse to return to their posts saying that they had *lost their izzat* by being associated with Izzat Khan (26th August, *ibid*, 136 a).

feeling of bitterness and jealousy between the imperial auxiliaries and the Prince's contingent, but his favourites also played a selfish game with the inevitable issue. Three trusted officers of Dara, *viz.*, Abdullah, Jafar and Izzat Khan, quarrelled among themselves and intrigued to discredit each other in a most silly manner. Jafar, chief of the Prince's artillery, was the hero of the siege. He enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the Prince, to whom he was as it were, "a blind man's stick." It is said that Zulfiqar Khan once signified his intention to surrender on the promise and assurance of Rajah Jai Singh, Mahabat and Qilich Khan, whereupon Dara in disgust said "If he is willing to come, he may do so on the pledge of Jafar and Izzat Khan; for their word is equivalent to mine" (*qaul-i-an-ha qaul-i-ma ast*).[1] But these two would often fall out in the very presence of the Prince and sometimes backbite each other. Izzat Khan, irri-

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[1] *Lataif*, 98 b.

tated by Jafar's brag, called him a *Pajī* (rascal), and told the Prince bluntly, "Favour and confidence shown by you to such rascals (*pajiha*), will not be of any avail."[1] On 15th June Abdullah sent a request to Jafar (whose battery was contiguous to his own) asking the latter to postpone advancing his trench-head till he should have come into line with Jafar's. Four days afterwards Abdullah went to salute the Prince, and told him in reply to a question that his trench was a few steps (*qadam*) ahead of Jafar's. This having reached the ears of Jafar, he flared up and fell foul of the whole race of *Iranis* and their vile Shia heresies. Even Dara's kind words to soothe his resentment were of no avail. After three days Qazi Afzal succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between the two. But Mirza Abdullah's men[2] were suspected of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the enemy.

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1 *Lataif*, 62*a*.

2 Abdullah's trick, *Lataif*, 46*b*; Qazi's reconciliation, *ibid.*, 50 a; Abdullah's men warned, 64 a.

SECTION 12.—ABANDONMENT OF THE SIEGE

There is a tiresome monotony about the Mughal expeditions to Qandahar, because the same plan, the same procedure, and the same inevitable result characterize all the three. The Persians compared the Hindustanis to summer-birds who would depart for the warmer plains at the advent of the Afghan winter. But Dara resolved upon continuing the siege during the cold season, and even issued orders to the army to procure supplies. There was, however, little chance of his being able to starve the garrison into surrender; because the blockade was ineffectual and food was smuggled into the fort by the Afghans and sometimes by the very grocers (*baqqals*) of Dara's camp. The situation was made critical by the rebellious attitude of the frontier Afghan tribes who threatened to cut off the communications of the expeditionary force with Lahor and Multan. They plundered a *Gurzbardar* (mace-bearer) of the Court at

Doki as early as the last week of July, and made booty of the imperial rescript (*farman*), horses, robe of honour, and the scent-bottle (*huqqah-i-itri*), meant for the Prince (*Lataif*, 88*b*; 25th July, 1653). The Indian troops became thoroughly demoralized, and began to dream dreams of divine intervention against them. A man saw in a dream 1000 strange cavaliers marching calmly through the Mughal ranks into the fort ; these were interpreted to be the warriors of Imam Raza coming to the aid of the Shia Persians against the Sunnis of Hindustan. Even the prophet appeared in a dream to a Sayyid of pure lineage in the Prince's camp, and predicted that victory was not to be gained this year and that it was useless to multiply the slaughter of Musalmans (*Lataif;* 61*a*, 62*b*, 144*b*).

Rustam Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang returned to Qandahar on 27th September, after having dismantled the fort of Bust, but the Prince, in obedience to an order from the Emperor, had to drop the plans of making another assault upon Qandahar

and of continuing the siege during the coming winter. Next day the Prince started on his homeward journey at an auspicious moment. Izzat Khan with the top-khana and the Kabul contingent took the road to Ghazni, while the main army under the Prince travelled by way of Pishin and Doki to Multan. Dara reached Pishin on 5th October and ordered the destruction of the fort there. The army had to fight its way through the tribal territory, as the Afghans blocked the roads and demanded their customary subsidy. Rajah Jai Singh worsted a large body of Afghans near Doki. The Prince encamped at Doki on 13th October, and thence in nine days reached Multan. After a halt of 11 days here he entered Lahor on 22nd November (11th Muharram, 1064).[1]

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1 The author of *Lataif-ul-akhbar* says that on 13th Zilqada (25th September) Dara wrote a letter to Rustam Khan Bahadur to rejoin the main camp positively on the 14th; but the Khan reached the camp on 15th Zilqada (27th September). The Prince started on his homeward journey when 7 *gharis* of the night of Thursday 16th Zilqada yet remained (28th September). But according to Waris, Rustam Khan Bahadur came to

A grand public reception was accorded to the Crown Prince and his suite at the newly-built city of Shahjahanabad-Delhi on 26th December, 1653. Dara and Shah Jahan had reached Delhi—from Lahor and Agra respectively,—on the previous evening (14th Safar, 1064 A.H. ; Waris 82*a*). The Emperor ordered him to encamp for the night outside the city, and next morning sent the nobles in attendance at Court to go out and conduct the Prince in all honour worthy of his rank, to the Diwan-i-Am.[1] Dara with his son Sulaiman Shukoh entered the darbar and offered a *nazar* of 1000 *ashrafis*. His Majesty in his boundless favour and

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Qandahar on 14th Zilqada (26th September), and the march began next day (see *Lataif*, 168a-170b; Waris MS. 79a). Other incidents during the retreat: destruction of the fort of Pishin, *Lataif*, 172*b*; a war-elephant runs mad; Rajah Satarsal Hada refuses to kill it at the Prince's command; Satarsal's encounter with the hostile Afghan tribesmen (*ibid*, 173b, 174a); Afghans plunder the men of Pahar Singh Bundela and are taught a severe lesson by Rajah Jai Singh (*ibid*, 175a); a brief narrative of the journey from Qandahar to Lahor (Waris MS. 79b).

[1] On this occasion Dara was given a rich *khilat* with a *nim-astin*, and two Iraqi horses from the royal stable.

exuberance of affection embraced him and gave him a kiss [*ibid*, 82*b*]. The Prince forgot his worries and disappointments in the undiminished favour and affection of his doting father, and calmly settled down to his studies. Dara was left to himself and his Muses till the trumpet of the civil war summoned him to arms .

SECTION 13.—THE SEQUEL OF THE QANDAHAR CAMPAIGN

It is interesting to note that none of the 5-hazaris came in the train of the Crown Prince to share the honour of the public reception on 26th December (1653). Things turned out exactly as Mirza Rajah Jai Singh had predicted ; the Emperor's eyes dilated with joy at the sight of the Prince, and in spite of the ignominy of their failure, the favourites of Dara gained applause and substantial favours. On the next solar birthday of the Emperor (6th January, 1654), at the recommendation of Dara, Jafar who had been "most active in advancing the trenches", was honoured with the title of Barqandaz Khan.

Another favourite of Dara, Faqir Khan[1] (son of Baqar Khan Najum sani), who had been dismissed and forbidden the Court, was, at the solicitation of Dara, reinstated in his rank of 2000 *zat*, 1000 *sawar*. Mahabat Khan, who had his first audience of the Emperor after his return from Qandahar on this day, did not even get a *khilat*. Nejabat Khan's lot seems to have been no better; he having been given leave without any *khilat* to depart for his jagir on 14th January, 1654, (Waris, 83*b*). Qilich Khan, who had been promised the rank of a 7-hazari and the title of Khan-i-Khanan, lost the favour of the Prince for saying that the breach made by Jafar was impracticable (25th September, *Lataif* 166*a*). He died at Bhera (in the Panjab) on 24th January,

1 Faqir Khan perhaps acted as secretary to Dara and was one of his confidants. He writes a letter by order to Mahabat Khan to advance his trench. The author of *Lataif-ul-akhbar* goes to Faqir Khan to explain the situation on behalf of Mahabat Khan; Faqir Khan, deaf to reason, makes some offensive remarks in reply (11th May, *Lataif*, 24a). This is enough to illustrate the character of Faqir Khan; no wonder that he wormed his way into Dara's favour.

1654 (Waris, 83*b*). On the lunar birthday (9th February), Kunwar Ram Singh, son of Rajah Jai Singh, was given an addition of 500 *zat* to his mansab, and the Rajah was given a choice *khilat* and leave for home. But this was no recognition of the services and ability of that old veteran in comparison with that of his younger and much less capable Rathor rival, Jaswant Singh, who had been created a 6-hazari with the title of Maharajah, a month before (6th January) in the solar birthday gazette of the Emperor. Rajah Mukund Singh Hada was conciliated with a promotion of 500 *zat*. No reward or mention of Rajrup and Champat Rai Bundela is found in the birthday gazettes of 1654. Rustam Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang received on the lunar birthday (9th February), a princely reward of 4 elephants, 1 female elephant and 10 Iraqi horses (84*b*).

The two birthday lists of honours corroborate the authenticity of the account of *Lataif-ul-akhbar* as regards the conduct of the 5-hazaris, and Dara's relations with them during the third siege of Qandahar.

CHAPTER V

SPIRITUAL LIFE OF DARA SHUKOH

SECTION I.—DARA SHUKOH AND THE QADIRIYA ORDER

Within a year of Dara's marriage, Nadira Begam bore him a daughter who died on the day of the *Id-ul-fitr* (21st March 1634), during his journey in the Emperor's train to the city of Lahor. He reeled under the shock of this first sorrow, and it was very probably that at this psychological moment the bereaved young couple sought spiritual consolation at the feet of the renowned mystic Mian Mir of Lahor, a Sufi of the Qadiriya Order, founded by the blessed saint Abdul Qadir Gilani (1077-1166 A.D.).

The great Emperor Shah Jahan honoured only two Muslim saints with his personal visit ; one was Shaikh Muhammad Fazlullah of Burhanpur (whom he visited while Viceroy of the Deccan during the lifetime of the Emperor Jahangir), and the other was

Mian Mir, to whom he paid three visits in the course of the year 1634 A.D. His first visit to the saint's cell was on April 7, 1634 and the next, two days after. On his return from Kashmir Shah Jahan again saw the Shaikh (December 18, 1634), and held with him "some discussions on theology and intricate points of spiritual sciences which were the source of joy and cheerfulness to that recluse."[1] It was most likely during the winter of 1635, when the Court was at Lahor, that Dara Shukoh received from Mian Mir a healthy stimulus to his spiritual life, and what was more valuable, picked up an acquaintance with his future Pir, Mulla Shah Badakhshi a disciple of the Shaikh. That very year the venerable saint Mian Mir passed away without having had time to make him a disciple. For six years

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[1] *Padshahnama,* I.B. 65. Biographical notices of Mian Mir and Mulla Shah Badakhshi, *Pad.* I.B. 329-330; 335. Khafi Khan on the conduct of Mian Mir, and the Emperor's appreciation of his indifference to the royal guest, *Muntakhab,* ii. 548-49. Reference in *Dabistan* to Mian Mir and to Maulana Shah, who was the Pir of the author of *Dabistan*; Shea, part III, pp. 284, 287; Pers. text, Bombay Litho, pp. 318, 319.

after the death of Mian Mir, the princely aspirant to divine knowledge eagerly searched for a spiritual guide in every quarter and devoted himself to the study of the lives and miracles of saints.

In his *Risala-i-Haqnuma* (written in 1646 A.D.) Dara tells us that "in the prime of his youth" one night an angel (*hatif*) cried out to him four times in dream, "God has bestowed upon thee what no king on earth did ever get." This dream was interpreted by the *arifs* (*i.e.*, gnostics) to mean that divine knowledge had been promised to him. "In time," says the Prince, "the foreshadowing of it began to be manifest, and day by day the veil was lifted little by little." It will not be far from the truth if we hold that this divine inspiration came to Dara not before his marriage, and not certainly immediately after it when youths have other dreams. Dara was possibly awakened to a spiritual life by the mystic touch of Mian Mir after the death of his first child. As wish is father to thought, the aforesaid dream of Dara was perhaps a

visualization of his own thought when his imagination became fired by the companionship of the mystics at Lahor during the winter of 1635 A.D. From that day, the Prince began to frequent the cells of saints and a mysterious pain made him feel ill at ease.

The Court-historian Abdul Hamid, who is so silent on the literary and spiritual life of Dara Shukoh, gives us an interesting anecdote which throws some light on the superstitious reverence of the Prince for saints and his implicit faith in miracles. On one occasion when singers and jugglers were entertaining the royal assembly, Shaikh Nazir, who had been invited to Court on account of his fame in working miracles, suddenly fell into an ecstacy and called for a glass of water. The Shaikh drank a little and passed the glass on to others ; every one who tasted of it declared that it was pure honey! . . . . . Prince Dara Shukoh and Qazi Muhammad Islam (d. 1651 A.D.) submitted to His Majesty that in Agra the Shaikh had in their presence once

transformed a water-jug (*kuza*), and on another occasion a handkerchief into a pigeon; further they added that once the Shaikh had put into their closed palms a blade of glass, which came out in the shape of a worm (*kirm*). Rajah Vikramjit, whose veracity is testified to by old Abdul Hamid, once told the Emperor that he was on one occasion watching Shaikh Nazir at prayer; he saw that in the course of the prayer the black whiskers (*mahasin*) of the Shaikh turned white and that his head became separate from his body, and after a while they were joined together again.[1]

The piety of Dara took an intellectual turn at this early stage. He devoted his ample leisure to compiling a comprehensive work on the lives and miracles of the saints of Islam. He did it as an act of devotion, a substitute for the company of saints ; such studies further inflamed his imagination, and gave a decisively spiritual turn to his mind.

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1 *Padshahnama* of Abdul Hamid, I.B. 337.

After the death of Mian Mir, Dara did not again visit Lahor till November, 12, 1638. He was shortly after appointed to command an expeditionary force against the Persians, and returned from it to Lahor on October 9, 1639. His first work, the *Safinat-ul-awliya*, was completed there on January 11, 1640, during the short interval of repose, as he had to leave for Kashmir in the Emperor's[1] train in the first week of February, 1640. Dara remained with the Emperor in Kashmir for about seven months (March 22, 1640—September 14, 1640),[2] and during this time, renewed his devotions to Maulana Shah Badakhshi, a disciple of Mian Mir. Though Dara Shukoh received instruction and inspiration from several saints, and addressed them in his letters as his *Pir* and *Murshid*, yet it was Maulana Shah who retained the allegiance of the Prince

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1 Shah Jahan arrives at Lahor on November 12, 1638, (15th Rajab, 1048 A.H.,—*Pad.* ii 123); leaves for Kashmir, 25th Shawwal, 1049 A.D. (February 8, 1640) *ibid.*, p. 179; enters Srinagar, 9th Zilhijja (March 22, 1640) *ibid.*, p. 191.

2 Shah Jahan starts for Lahor, 7th Jamadi-us-sani, 1050 A.H. (14th September, 1640); *Pad.* ii. 208.

to the last. After his initiation Dara Shukoh designated himself as *Qadiri* and *Hanafi*.

Dara Shukoh was born a client of the great Khwajah Muin-ud-din Chishti, the patron saint of the house of Akbar,—which Emperor had lavished almost royal devotion to his shrine at Ajmir. His sister, Jahanara was a *murida* or disciple of this order and as an act of piety wrote a biography of the Khwajah, entitled *Munis-ul-arwa* (the Comforter of Souls). He himself seemed to have wavered long before leaving the fold of Muin-ud-din Chishti for that of Abdul Qadir Gilani. But the magnetic personality and piety of Mian Mir and the reputation of Maulana Shah drew the Prince to the Qadiriya fraternity. Besides, the lofty spirit of charity and philanthropy of Abdul Qadir Gilani,[1]—who was for closing the very gates of hell and opening those of paradise to the *Kafirs* no less than to the Faithful,—could not but appeal to the

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[1] See *Ency. of Islam*, i. 42.

imagination of the great-grandson of Akbar. When he became thoroughly acquainted with the practices of the Qadiriya order, he wrote his second book the *Sakinat-ul-awliya* (completed in 1642 A.D.), which is mainly a biography of Mian Mir, with incidental notices of the various stages of the mystic journey of the Sufi towards his goal.

Heaven seemed to have approved of Dara's choice of the Qadiriya discipline. In the night of Friday, 17th Rajab, 1055 A.H. a voice from Heaven (*nada*) conveyed to him a message that the Qadiriya discipline was the best path for reaching God. That night he also received a divine injunction to write a tract for the use of the Sufi neophytes. He promptly obeyed the call and in a year wrote a pamphlet, *Risala-i-Haqnuma*, containing the gist of the Sufi-istic practices and the different stages of spiritual illumination. He claims to speak, like Abdul Qadir Gilani, the founder of the sect, only under divine command ; and protests that this pamphlet is to be taken verily as a revelation

from the *Qadir* (the Almighty), and not as the sectarian work of a *Qadiri* (*Hast az Qadir madan az Qadiri*).[1]

The above-mentioned books of Dara Shukoh written between 1639 and 1646 A.D. cover an important stage in the growth of his spiritual life. We propose to review his religious outlook, the methods and fruits of his spiritual contemplation, and his conception of God and the Universe in turn.

SECTION 2.—DOCTRINES PROCLAIMED BY DARA

If Dara was an unbeliever in Islam there was as yet hardly any odour of infidelity in his writings. There are perhaps some doctrines, *e.g.*, Pantheism and the theory of the Descent of the Absolute, which were not acceptable to

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1 In the English translation of the *Risala-i-Haqnuma* by Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Vasu (Allahabad, 1912), the exact date is not mentioned. The litho edition of the Newal Kishore Press gives the date Friday, 8th Rajab, 1055 A.H. But 8th Rajab of this year was not a Friday, but Wednesday, 20th August, 1645; 8th Rajab is therefore either an error or misprint; it should be either 10th or 17th Rajab. I consider the latter date more likely.

the contemporary orthodox theologians, but the garb in which they were put was quite orthodox. Dara was out and out a Musalman during this period, being full of reverence for the Prophet and his teachings. He even gives a pseudo-scientific explanation of the tradition, that the body of the Prophet, just like a Hindu god, did not cast a shadow nor could any fly sit upon him. "Since soul (*ruh*) is subtler than air even, and nothing can obstruct its movement or veil its activity, where is the wonder that the famous journey to heaven by that world-leader was made in his (etherealized) physical body?" To the Prince (as he tells us in his *Risala*) "*Allah*" was the highest and best of all the names, and *common to both those who believe in Islam and those who do not* (*shamil-i-kuffar o Islam*).[1] He claims no originality for his doctrines and tells us

[1] See *Risala*, pp. 1, 9-10; S. C. Vasu's translation. Text, pp. 1, 13. Compare "All the hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets were sent to preach one word. They bade the people say "Allah" and devote themselves to Him". Abul Fadl to Abu Said (Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 7).

that he had simply made an abstract from standard works on Sufi-ism which he mentions in his preface to the *Risala-i-Haqnuma.* Though he makes a fling at the theologians devoted to the externals of counterfeit Islam and brands their writings as counterfeit coins, he emphatically says, "It must be known that whatever is written in this *Risala* is exactly without a hair's difference, the record of the practices, meditations, methods of sitting, moving, and acting adopted by the prophet.[1] If we take the Prince at his word we must hold that the Prophet practised the control of breath (Sanskrit *Pranayam*) in the cave of Hara, fixed his attention at the time of meditation on various centres (or *chakras* like the Hindu Yogis), saw the Illumination (Sanskrit *jyoti*), and heard the psychic sound (Sanskrit *anahat dhwani*) or the Great Voice of Silence. Absurd as these statements appear to us, we cannot justly accuse Dara Shukoh of

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1 *Sar-i-mai tafawat o tajawaz na-yafta bud—Risala,* Pers. text, p. 6, translation p. 4.

importing these Indian or Tibetan mysteries into Islam. Scattered and obscure allusions to these practices[1] are found in the Sufi literature for several centuries prior to the birth of Dara Shukoh. He has simply handed down traditions from his Pir without a critical test.

Dara's doctrines, such as the theory of the coming down of the Spirit into Matter, were certainly unacceptable to the orthodox school of Sufi-ism. He says, "Know, O friend, that the reason why the essence of man has entered this frame-work of the body is that the seed which lies concealed in it may reach perfection, and again return to the Self" (*sabab-i-tazalzal-i-Haqiqat-i-insani dar in haykal-i-jismani an ast ke u wadiaa't ke dar in pinhan ast bakamal rasidah baz ba-asal-i-khwesh paywandad*).[2]

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[1] The control of breath and the method of fixing attention on the *dil-i-sanowari* or the cedar-heart were, as the author of *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib*, a fellow-disciple of Dara, tells us, the common property of the Hindu, the Magian, and the Musalman ascetics in the first half of the seventeenth century.

[2] Introduction to *Risala-i-Haqnuma*.

However, it should be noticed that though every doctrine, every practice, and even every stage of spiritual progress explained in his *Risala* has a parallel in Sanskrit works on the Vedanta and Yoga systems of a much older date, Dara expressly says that this treatise is an abstract of standard works on Sufi-ism, such as, *Fususu'l-hikam* of Ibn-ul-Arabi, *al-Futuhatu 'l-Makkiyya* of the same author, *Kitab-al-Luma*, by Abu Nasr al-Sarraj and several other works.

SECTION 3.—DARA ON ASCETIC PRACTICES

A word about Dara's notion of asceticism. It is the general rule for a regular Sufi novice to wear the *muraqqa* or *khirqa* (patched frock). We do not know whether the Crown Prince of Hindustan ever wore it publicly, or underneath his princely garment, like Cardinal Wolsey's sack-cloth inside the dazzling gold and silk robe of a Chancellor. So far as we can judge from his writings, he preferred moral renunciation to asceticism. In his opinion "*worldliness* is the

non-remembering of God. *It does not consist either in dress, or in having sons and wife.*" He maintains this view throughout and says distinctly that his was the Path of Grace, not of Exertion, and that he was naturally attracted to God *without the performance of any austerities.* It is also to be noted that though the Prince professes himself to be a Qadiriya, he ignores the earlier stage of hard self-discipline and physical renunciation which Shaikh Abdul Qadir prescribes as essential for a novice. "In the discipline of the school to which the author belongs" says Dara, "there is, contrary to the practices laid down in other schools, *no pain* and difficulty..... there is no asceticism in it, everything is easy, gracious and a free gift. Everything here is love and affection, pleasure and ease"; God is not the tormentor, but the comforter of his creatures and He certainly brings His "elect" through the Path, in

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[1] Introduction to *Safinat*, rendered into English by S. C. Vasu; see Appendix, *Risala*, ii.

order to welcome *them as guests*, and not to punish them as criminals.[1]

The spirit of Islam is not one of renunciation, but of unattachment, to be engaged in outward worldly pursuits without being affected by them; to be in retirement in the very midst of worldly bustle is its criterion of spiritual progress.[2]

Dara ignores altogether gymnastic postures and devices for keeping off distraction by crying the name of God aloud such as a Qadiriya generally adopts. He is in favour of reciting very slowly and mentally the name "Allah", without any movement of the tongue—a method which was recommended by Mian Mir to a few select disciples. He highly recommends the *Sultan-ul-azkar*,[3] which is exactly the

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1 *Risala*, Eng. trans. p. 5; Pers. text, p. 5.

2 Dara's spiritualism finds a faithful echo in the immortal lines of our poet Rabindranath :—

"বৈরাগ্য সাধনে মুক্তি। সে আমার নয় ;
অসংখ্য বন্ধন মাঝে মহানন্দময়
লভিব মুক্তির স্বাদ।"—

3 The usual course for a beginner in the Qadiriya order is to read Sura *Ikhlas*, Sura *Falaq*, Sura *Nās* seven times each before he sits down to meditation. The aspirant then sits

same process of controlling the mind by the regulation of breath as the *Pranayam* of the Hindus, with this difference that the Hindu Yogi sits erect while the Sufi bends forward placing his two elbows on his two knees at the time of regulating his breath. Dara says in his *Risala* that Mian Mir had communicated the secret of this practice in parables and allusions to Maulana Shah, who in a similar manner transmitted it to him; but while Maulana Shah could grasp its real meaning in a year, his apt pupil realized the effect of it in six months, and those who learnt it from Dara, began to see the light of the soul and hear the cosmic sound within three or four days! This is not surprising in a country and

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cross legged (technically called four-kneed posture), utters the word '*La*' aloud and with a forcible jerk of the head *upon the left knee; 'illa'* on the right knee, '*ha*' on the right shoulder and "*ilaha*" more loudly and with greater emphasis on the heart, so as to strike it internally like the hammer of the blacksmith. Sufis of other schools laugh at this vociferous practice of invoking Allah who is neither deaf, nor stays afar; the distance between Allah and his creatures being even shorter than that between the rider and the neck of his camel!

an age when the wise maxim prevailed, "If the King says it is midnight at mid-day, one would do well to add, 'Yes, I see myriads of stars'!" In his boundless enthusiasm, unbalanced self-confidence and deplorable ignorance of men, the spiritual director only foreshadowed the futile statesman and soldier of the future.

SECTION 4.—THE UNITARIANISM OF DARA SHUKOH

The Sufis are the unitarians of Islam, and their goal is *tawhid*[1] or unification, which consists in affirming the unity of God *after having gained a perfect knowledge of His Unity*. They seek Him each in his own way, and hence there are as many ways to God as there are seekers of Him. The famous saint Abu Said Fazlullah of Khurasan says, "Innumerable are the ways to God, yet the way is but a single step: take one step out of thyself, that thou mayst arrive at God." To pass away from self (*fana*) is to realize that self does not exist, and that nothing

[1] For a learned discussion on *tawhid*, see Nicholson's translation of the *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, pp. 278-285.

exists except God (*tawhid*). The Tradition, 'He who knows himself knows his Lord', signifies that he who knows himself as not-being (*'adam*) knows God as the Real Being (*wajud*). *This knowledge cannot be obtained through the intellect,* . . . . . . it cannot be learned, but is given by divine illumination. The organ which receives it is the heart. . . ."[2]

The doctrine of *tawhid* was the subject of Dara's lifelong study, and the perfect realization of it through knowledge and contemplation was the goal of his spiritualism. We shall first deal with its devotional aspect.

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2 See Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 50; *Cf.* Kabir's sayings :—

गाँव ना जानौं गाँव का, बिन् जाने कित जाँव ।
चलता चलता जुग भया पाव कोस पर गाँव ॥
जा कारण जग ढुंढ़िया सो तो घट ही माहिं ।
परदा दिया भरम् का ताते सूझै नाहिं ॥

i.e., You do not know the name of the village (the destination), without knowing this where will you go? A cycle of ages has passed in travelling, but the village lies only at a distance of half a mile : . . . . . What you have searched through the whole universe lies within you. He has given a veil of illusion which keeps Him concealed from our eyes.

It was God who had promised divine knowledge to the Prince in his early youth, and Dara had since then waited for the day when God would in His boundless mercy draw him unto Himself. "I have no hope," says the Prince, "of reaching the goal through my own deeds and acts. My sole reliance is on thy mercy, O Lord."[1] Dara followed the Path of Grace, which took him to many Masters for spiritual illumination. He first realized "unity" through meditation under the spiritual guidance of Maulana Shah, and thereafter, "his eagerness to visit the gnostics of every religion, and to listen to discourses on the doctrine of Divine Unity (*tawhid*) became great ; he read many books on Sufi-ism, and wrote tracts on it ; his thirst for the knowledge of the Divine Unity (*tishnagi dar talab-i-tawhid*), which is verily a boundless ocean, went on increasing every day . . . ."[2] He

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1 Introduction to the *Safinat-al-awliya* (1639 A.D.) tr. by S. C. Vasu.

2 Introduction to the *Sirr-i-akbar.*

came into intimate contact with many saints and, in the language of the Sufi, he drank deep in many "drinking *ghats*" (*mashrab*) to allay his spiritual thirst. The highest realization came to him not through the intellect or by calm contemplation, but in a mystic "rage of love" which passed over him during the years *circa* 1645-1650. Some letters of Dara Shukoh to an eminent contemporary saint, Shah Dil-ruba, bring out an interesting feature of the mysticism of the Prince and the evolution of his conception of "Unity". We shall here only hint at the stages of this evolution, as these letters will be translated elsewhere in full.

There are, according to the Sufis, three stages in the realization of One-ness (*ittihad*). The first stage is the annihilation of Self, and union (*jama*) without real separation although the appearance of separation is maintained. At this stage the aspirant realizes "Everything is He—I am nothing." This state of spirituality is reflected in letter No. 3 of Dara to Dil-

ruba. In commonplace poetic effusion he says—

> "Lord, my dear, I am not, I am not;
> "Thou art the Lover, Love, and the Beloved."

The second stage, technically called "the intoxication of union" (*sakru l jam*), marks the highest point of *'uruz* or spiritual ascent. Here the consciousness of separation between "I" and "Thou" completely vanishes, the mystic being entirely absorbed in the undifferentiated one-ness of God. The devotee is seized with a giddiness as it were, and 'self' and 'God' become indistinguishable to him. He realizes "I am I", and in worshipping God he only worships himself. The letter No. 4 written by Dara Shukoh to Shah Dil-ruba reflects the transition from the first to the second stage of this realization on the part of the Prince. In the introductory verses, Dara in ecstatic rapture visualizes God as *Shakhs-i-kul* or the Universal Person (Sans. *Virat*), and praises Him almost in the language of the

Bhagavad-gita[1]: *Hamah wajah, hamah sama' hamah 'ayn, i.e.*, . . . "Thou who art all faces, all ears, and all eyes." A pantheist, Dara says in amazement: "Truly, indeed very truly, to the eye that can see, the whole (*kul*) stands clearly manifest in its part ; the world-illuminating sun can be recognized in every shining particle of sand, the ocean in every drop of the brine."

Dara, forgetful of the yawning abyss of fanaticism and ignorance below, from the pinnacle of his spiritual ascent pens to Shah Dil-ruba in the same letter: "The externals of Islam have fallen off from the heart of this faqir, and the real infidelity has been revealed to me. . . . .

"I have become the wearer of the sacred thread,[1] an idol-worshipper ;

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[1] Cf. xiii. 13 :—

सर्व्वतः पाणिपादं तत् सर्व्वतोऽक्षि शिरोमुखम् ।
सर्व्वतः श्रुतिमल्लोके सर्व्वमावृत्य तिष्ठति ॥

[1] Cf. *Diwan-i-Amir Khusru* :—

Kafir-i-ishqam Musalmani mara dar kar nist,
Har rag-i-man tar gashta hajat-i-zunnar nist,
Khalq me-guaid ke Khusru but-parasti me-kunad,
Aré, Aré, me-kunam ba-khalq-i-alam kar-e nist.

"Nay, I have become the *worshipper of the self* (*Khud-parast*), and a priest of the temple of Fire-worshippers (*dair-nashin*)."

He finishes with a more brilliant touch—

(Verses) "*Agar Kafir (ā)z Islam-i-majazi gasht be-zar ;*
Ke ra kuffr-i-haqiqi shud padidār.
Darun har-but-e jān-ist pinhān ;
Ba-zer-i-kuffar imān-ist pinhān.[1]

i.e., If the infidel is alienated from the external Islam, who has come to know the real nature of infidelity?

Life lies concealed in every idol and Faith lies hidden beneath Infidelity."

The *Risala-i-Haqnuma* seems to have been written in the stage of "the intoxication of Union"; witness his own words :—

(*i*) No one is a stranger to Thee in this Universe ; on whatever Thou layest Thy hands that confronts Thee as Thy own self.

Or, Love has made me an infidel ; I have no business with the faith of a Musalman : Every artery of mine has become a string ; I do not require the sacred thread (which the idol-worshipping Brahman wears as the badge of his infidelity).

People say 'Khusru worships an idol ;'

Yes : I do : leave me alone ; I have nothing to do with the creatures of this world.

(*ii*) O thou who seekest God everywhere, thou verily art that God and not separate from Him. This search of thine is exactly like the search of the drop for the ocean, when it is already in the midst of the waters of the ocean.

He assures "the aspirant" . . . "when thou shalt carry this stage to perfection, then there will remain no doubt that *thou art the truth*". This is the realization of "I am God; I am the Truth" (*ana' al-Haqq*) or as the Vedantin says—

"I am the Brahman (*brahmosmi*)". This was the truth of truths which the Vedic rishis proclaimed from the forests of Aryavarta ; and this was the truth which startled the Muslim world in the palmy days of Harun-al-Rashid, when every drop of the martyred blood of Hallaj,—(as they say)—cried out from the dust of Baghdad, "*Ana' al-Haqq*".

In fact, the externals of Islam, save Allah, Muhammad, and the Quran, perished in the mysticism of Dara. The Prince awoke to a new life, vigorous and fresh, and pursued further his investiga-

tion of the doctrine of *tawhid* in the scriptures of other religions. He was familiarly addressed as *al-Kamil* or the Perfect One, and acknowledged as an authority on Sufi-ism by the liberal section of his contemporaries. He recovered "the sobriety of union" which marks the third stage of the realization of One-ness, with a fervent belief in the principle of unity-in-plurality as enunciated in the opening lines of letter No. 5 to Shah Dil-ruba. "In the name of Him who is Incomparable in the one-ness of Being, whose *wahidat* (One-ness) no plurality (*kasrat*) can conceal, and in spite of all this plurality (many-ness), whose *wahidat* (Unity-in-plurality) exists like number 1 among numbers."

SECTION 5.—THE THEOSOPHY OF DARA SHUKOH.

The key-note of Dara's theosophy was the uncompromising monotheism of the *Quran*, realized in the principle of "Unity-in-plurality". There is no place for more than one in the heart of the Musalman ;—either "I" or "He" must perish in the

physical as well as in the spiritual plane for the peace of his soul. It is the religion of the Musalman to carry on a "*jihad*" both inside against his "lower self" (*nafs*), as well as outside against "others" who do not acknowledge the oneness of God. The proud Musalman warrior goes out to conquer others with his inborn ego-ism "I am and no other"; and to realize himself and the unity of God by a grim process of elimination by the logic of the sword. The saint of Islam is always on the alert to fight "others" which peep into his heart as "dangers" (*khatrat*), and to wrestle with them desperately till he recognizes them to be wanton pranks of his own self; outside he meets humanity with no other weapon than the boundless love of his faithful heart—a heart which is more spacious than heaven and earth. He conquers God and man by receiving them into his bosom and expands himself into the Universal Person (*shakhs-i-kul*) to feel oneness with the whole creation and the Creator.

The Sufi is a lover,—even a prototype

of the lover who often carries his love for an earthly being to the point of scandal. He impatiently knocks at the door of his Beloved, crying aloud "It is I", but there is no response, no admittance till the lover, lost to himself, humbly repeats, "It is thou". But when the Sufi eagerly goes to embrace his Beloved, he finds in his own embrace no other being than his own "Self", which had been for ages playing wanton pranks with him. Nevertheless, the joy of the Sufi is a thousand times deeper than that of one who longs for an animated doll of flesh and blood ; his love knows no separation either in life or in death, no ebb and flow through eternity, and the beauty of his beloved knows no wrinkle of age. The problem of problems to the Sufi is the discord between "I" and "He" ; the One and the Many. There is no salvation for humanity, no peace in the world till an agreement is reached on this point. So the Sufi makes up the quarrel by a self-consuming love, till he awakes to the truth "*I am He*".

But how are the polytheist and

the monotheist to meet in friendship, when the former is blind to the One, and the latter, with equal blindness, would refuse to accept a fact, and in self-deception ignores the Many? The Sufi by his spiritual penetration sees what the common folk do not and he proclaims to the world "There are many religions, but only one God ; diverse ways, but only one goal."[1] The Sufi knows well "a true polytheist" and discovers "pure faith" hidden beneath the rubbish of infidelity. He sees only a difference of the angle of vision between the Musalman and the Hindu in looking at the same Being. They quarrel childishly because none of them can see the complete Absolute Truth, and both persist with vulgar obstinacy in their own folly and ignorance. Moreover, the common followers of both religions look with suspicion upon the mystic who advises peace and offers to guide them aright in realizing the complete truth. He despairs of weaning

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[1] See Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 23.

them from "self-interest" and turns away in disgust saying, as Dara Shukoh said, in pity and disgust —

"*mara ba-' umuam-i-in har do qaum kare nist.*"

i.e., I have no business with the common folk of these two communities.[1] He turned to "the elect" of these communities and hoped to bring about a general concord in the long run through the efforts of "the Elect".

The true infidel sees the Many submerged in the One, while the Musalman sees nothing but the One manifested as the Many. In the technical terminology of the Muslim philosophers, the discord between *Huwiyya* *i.e.*, He-ness, and *Aniyya i.e.*, I-ness is overcome in *Wahidiyya*, *i.e.*, *the Many identical in essence with each other and with the One.*[2] This principle of *Wahidiyya*, *i.e.*, Unity-in-plurality was the key-stone of Dara's theosophy. The

1 Introduction to the *Majmu-al-Baharain*.
2 See Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 96-97.

world had agreed on the principle many centuries before the birth of Dara Shukoh; but it was none the happier, nor was there any sign of concord among men. People quarrel over shadows though there could be no mistake about the substance, and they shed blood in the name of God! So mankind cannot agree on the worship of God with a name, as each sect will call him by a different one. So the philosopher-prince proclaimed the new Gospel of India three hundred years back and invoked blessing upon his divine mission of mingling the two oceans, Islam and Hinduism—saying, "In the name of Him who *has no name*; but who reveals Himself by means of any name He desires; boundless praise be to the Beloved who wears on His incomparably beautiful countenance Hinduism and Islam, contraries as they are like two opposite points . . . . without allowing either of them to be a veil on His benign face. Hinduism and Islam are both in search of Him, proclaiming, 'He is one without a partner, in everything He is manifest, He

is the beginning, He is the end, and nothing exists but He. He is the neighbour, friend and fellow-traveller. He is within the shreds and patches of the faqir's robe as well as in the purple of the monarch'. . . . There are in the august assembly as well as in the neglected corner men who know Him."[1]

By study and occult practices Dara acquired a philosophic imagination which to a Sufi is the true vision and faculty divine. This alone enables the seeker to comprehend the Divine Essence and its relation to Attributes, and above all "to know himself". The Prince says to his imaginary pupil in the *Risala*: "When it reaches perfection, wherever thou shalt look thou shalt see thyself, and everywhere thou shalt recognize thy own identity. Beware and do not think of Him as without colours and without attributes; in that case thou shalt not have the fortune of *tashbih*, *i.e.*, visualizing Him in the universe which is His image.

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[1] Introduction to the *Majma-al-Baharain*. The above is a free rendering.

Similarly, beware that thou mayst not limit His conception to similitude from the manifestations, and to qualities only, lest thou shalt be deprived of a share in His wealth of *tanjih*, *i.e.*, impersonality ; but thou shouldst know that purity and impurity (*i.e.*, the state of being without attribute, and that of being limited by attribute), personality and impersonality (*tashbih o tanjih*) are all aspects of His manifestation and self-limitation. If thou thinkest even the smallest atom to be separate from Him, verily thou shalt be forbidden the blessing of Unity and of Knowledge (*tawhid o irfan*)."[1] The knowledge of God, according to the Sufi, is self-knowledge, which, however, like wine only a few can stand. Under its intoxication the devotee becomes lost to himself, and utters what sounds blasphemy and heresy to the ears of the uninitiated. The famous saint Abu Said once cried out pointing to himself: "There is naught within this vest except Allah."

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[1] See *The Compass of Truth*, p. 23; Pers. text, p. 23.

SECTION 6.—THE SPIRITUAL PROGRESS ACTUALLY ACHIEVED BY DARA SHUKOH

The above marks the highest point of spiritual ascent, and no progress beyond this is possible except by retrogression. The third or last stage of the realization of One-ness is reached when the Sufi retraces his path, and recovers "the sobriety of union" (*sahwa l-jam'*). "This is the stage in which the mystic returns from the pure one-ness of the second stage to plurality in oneness and to separation in union and to the Law in the truth, so that while continuing to be united with God he serves Him as a slave serves his lord and manifests the Divine life in its perfection, mankind".[1] The path of the spiritual journey is like that of the circumference of a circle which ends at the selfsame point of its start. The Sufi commences his ascent (*uruz*) from the *Alam-i-nasut*, *i.e.*, the physical plane or the

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[1] For a notice of the three stages of "Oneness," see Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 230, footnote 326-327.

world of perception, climbs successively to the *Alam-i-malakut*, *i.e.*, the astro-mental plane or the world of spirits ; and to the *Alam-i-jabrut*, which is the plane of bliss, unity and satisfaction ; finally he reaches the *Alam-i-lahut*, also called the *Alam-i-Hawwiyat* or the plane of Thatness, *i.e.*, of the absolute Truth. Dara Shukoh in his *Risala-i-Haqnuma* gives a fascinating description of the four planes, "communicating to the world at large some perfume of the experience through which he had passed." The *Alam-i-lahut* being the plane of Divinity, cannot be the permanent station of the mystic. His journey becomes complete only when he descends (*nazul*) again to the *Alam-i-nasut*, which is the proper station of humanity.

If we are to accept the orthodox definition of the stage of "the sobriety of union" quoted above, Dara never completely reached it, because he was to the last indifferent to the Law (*shariyat*), and as such, in the opinion of the orthodox, failed to "manifest the Divine life in its perfection, mankind".

The Prince seemed to have recovered partially this sobriety of union when he wrote his next letter (no. 5) to Shah Dil-ruba. In the opening lines of this letter he praises God not in verses but in severe prose, dwelling on the principle of unity-in-plurality. He begins, "In the name of Him who is incomparable and unrivalled in the unity of His existence, whose absolute Oneness no plurality (*kasrat*) can conceal, and whose unity, in spite of all this plurality, exists like the unit 1 among numbers." The orthodox school of Sufism, though in itself an enigma, would refuse to acknowledge anybody as the perfect unitarian if he does not return to the path of the *Shariyat* after "the intoxication of union". But Dara Shukoh was one of those pious rebels who did not consider it essential to conform to the letter of the Law after the realization of the Truth. When the truth (*haqiqat*) dawns, the Sufi becomes, in the opinion of these bold transgressors of the Law, a Perfect Man (*Kamil*), whose existence expands from the partial into

the universal,[1] and whom no creed or community can exclusively claim as its own. Their very excess of religion becomes irreligion, and early fervour and enthusiasm cool down to indifference. It is no wonder that Dara Shukoh, whom the contemporary saints called *al-Kamil* (the perfect man), though perhaps in mutual admiration, was suspected to be a polytheist by the Muslim theologians, and could be credited with no religion even by his enthusiastic foreign partisan Manucci. He made a religion of the doctrine of *tawhid* or Unitarianism, and pursued his investigations to the bourn of Infidelity.

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1 Cf. ". . . It will make thee universal from partial, an ocean from a drop, a sun from a shining particle of sand, and existence from non-existence." (*az juzu tu-ra kul sazad, as qatra dariya, az zarrah aftab, az nist hast*). See *Risala*, text, p. 27.

CHAPTER VI

LITERARY ACHIEVEMENTS OF DARA SHUKOH

Dara Shukoh was admittedly the greatest scholar of his age and country and the most learned prince of the House of Timur. He was no amateur in the field of scholarship, but an earnest student of theosophy with a passion for discovering the principle of unity-in-plurality in revealed religions. The history of his literary activity is also the history of the evolution of his spiritualism. Philosophic inquiry was with him a part of religious worship, and his writings were his best prayers to his God,—to "the Divinity objectified in humanity." He became convinced that the doctrine of *tawhid* or divine unity has assumed, like pure water different colours in different vessels (*i.e.*, in various religions, which differ only in appearance but completely

agree in essence). He wielded his brilliant and facile pen with the sincerity and courage of a martyr to popularize this great truth, which he believed to be the healing-balm of the sore of religious discord that was eating into the vitals of mankind. This he did, not by repudiating the religion of Muhammad, but by reading an original meaning into it, by removing the stigma of narrowness from the noble brow of Islam. He showed that the bosom of Islam is not less capacious than the heart of the Musalman, which alone—in God's own words—can accommodate Him whom heaven and earth cannot contain.

There are two distinct periods in the history of the literary activity of Dara Shukoh. Down to 1647 A.D., *i.e.*, up to the completion of his *Risala-i-Haqnuma*, Dara was mainly occupied with the Sufi theosophy of the Pantheistic School. From 1647 to 1657 he devoted himself to the study of the Jewish, Christian and Hindu religions, with the object of discovering the underlying principles of

these religions, and harmonizing them with the tenets of Islam. It was probably during this period that he approached the great saint Sarmad the Jew as a pupil to study the Jewish religion. Sarmad with his beloved disciple Abhai Chand was at this time living in the newly-built Delhi of Shah Jahan. Abhai Chand had translated a part of the Book of Moses into Persian, which was revised[1] by his master Sarmad. This work was apparently the common source of information about the Pentateuch to Dara Shukoh as well as to the author of *Dabistan*, who was his friend and admirer. There was less difficulty as regards the Gospels and the Psalms which had already been familiarized in India, particularly at that important centre of Jesuit activity, Agra. Manucci says that Dara delighted to hear the Christian fathers overcome the champions of other religions with their arguments. Four Jesuit fathers, Father Estanilas Malpica (a Neapolitan), Pedro

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[1] See Shea's *Dabistan*, ii. 299, 300.

Juzarte (a Portuguese), Father Henri Buzeo (a Flamand), and Heinrich Roth (a German), enjoyed the intimacy of the Prince who, as Manucci says, loved to drink occasionally with them.

As regards Hindu philosophy, it had been filtrating imperceptibly into the esoteric Islam even before its advent into India. Alberuni in the 11th century, and Abul Fazl in the sixteenth, made the elements of the six systems of Hindu philosophy accessible to the Musalmans. Since the literary Renaissance of the age of Akbar, the Musalmans began to take greater interest in Sanskrit literature and the Hindu religion. Akbar presented popular Hinduism to the Musalmans by having the *Mahabharat*, the *Ramayan*, and the *Atharva Veda* translated into Persian. But these translations benefited rather the succeeding generations of the Persian-knowing, Islamicized Hindu Court-nobility than their Muslim compatriots who could not form any high opinion of Hinduism from these books. The Muslim missed the high philosophic

truths and morals hidden under romance and allegory in these Sanskrit works. Badayuni, who was the type of Mulla revered as an oracle and model of piety by the mass of the Muslim population, considered it a sin to be engaged in translating the religious books of the infidels. He learnt three things about the Hindus, namely that they used to eat beef and bury their dead in ancient times, and that they had a formula in the Atharva Veda which was similar in meaning and sound to the Muslim *Kalima*, having many 'L's' in it.

Dara Shukoh tapped the very spring-head of Hindu philosophy, and presented the highest and best tenets of Hinduism to the Musalmans in an attractive garb by the translation of its standard philosophical works into Persian. He translated (evidently with the help of Pandits)—the *Bhagavad Gita*[1] under the

[1] Ethe's Catalogue of the India Office Library, (p. 1111) MS. No. 1949. "In the British Museum copy of it, it is wrongly ascribed to Abul Fazl; the real translator was, as a note on fol. 13 in the present copy proves—Dara Shikoh".

misleading title of "Battle between Arjun and Durjodhan", divided into 18 chapters, as we learn from a marginal note in the India Office Library MS. of this work. The famous philosophical drama "*Prabodh-chandrodaya*" was rendered into Persian under the title of *Gulzar-i-hal*[1] for the use of Dara Shukoh by his *munshi* Banwalidas, who, with the assistance of the Prince's favourite astrologer Bhawanidas, traslated it from the Hindi version of this work by Swami Nand Das. There is in the Bodleian Library a Persian work "*Tarjama-i-Joga-Vashishta*"[2] (translation of the Joga-Vashishta), made for Dara.

Leaving out the above-mentioned

[1] Catalogue of the India Office Library, p. 1111, MS. No. 1995. Bhagwandas is mentioned by Manucci as the most favourite astrologer of Dara (*Storia*, i. 223).

[2] Ethe and Sachau's Bodleian Library Catalogue Vol. iii., p. 818. The author of *Dabistan* mentions one Mulla Muhammad, a Sufi, as having translated some parts of the *Joga-Vashishta*. We learn from the *Misra-bandhu-binode* (History of Hindi Literature in Hindi) that Kavindracharya Saraswati wrote a compendium of this work in Hindi with the title *Joga-Vashishta-sara* (M.B. ii. 453). This was perhaps meant for his patron, Dara Shukoh.

books written under his patronage, Dara was himself the author of the following works in Persian :—

1. *Safinat-ul-awliya*—or Lives of Muslim Saints, was written when he was 'full of the pain of search' in the path of Sufism. It was completed in 1639 A.D., *i.e.*, when the Prince was about 24 years old. The work throughout breathes noble sentiments, bearing testimony to his wide reading, particularly in Sufi literature. It is interesting to study the first stage in the growth of Dara's spiritual life in his first literary production.

2. His second book, "*Sakinat-ul-awliya*", completed in 1642 A.D., marks a more mature stage of his religious life. He says, "When I became more intimate with the rules of discipline and the various stages of the Path . . . I composed a book on the various signs, conduct, stages and miracles of *my own Shaikhs* (meaning apparently the saints of the Qadiriya order), and called it *Sakinat-ul-awliya*." It deals mainly with the life of the renowned saint Mian Mir of Lahor.

3. His third literary production, *Risala-i-Haqnuma* or the Compass of Truth, was written for the instruction of novices in the path of Sufi-ism. Here Dara speaks as a Pir to a Murid, though he deprecates the use of these terms ; the *murid* is addressed as "friend", and he describes himself in the third person, not in Julian pride but with the genuine humility of a faqir. This tract is said to have been written under divine inspiration between August 1645 and January 1647. As Dara had been with the Emperor in Kashmir from April to September 15, 1645, the revelation must have come to him in Kashmir on Friday, 17th Rajab,[1] (August 19, 1645). The year 1646 during which this *Risala* was written, was a year of great anxiety and misfortune for Dara, because his loving wife Nadira Banu had been suffering from a prolonged illness for eleven months, and

[1] Nawal Kishore press Litho text has "8th Rajab," which is not a Friday, but Wednesday. "8th" is evidently a slip, possibly for 17th Rajab. See text p. 4.

recovered only in February 1647.[1] In the Introduction, Dara says, "Know that this pamphlet consists of *four chapters* (*Chahar fasl*), and each chapter gives the description of an *Alam*, *i.e.*, plane of existence." (Pers. text, p. 8). But the *Risala-i-Haqnuma* which is extant in MS. as well as in print has *six chapters*. It is reasonable to infer that the *Risala* originally had four chapters and ended with the description of the fourth and highest plane, *viz.*, the *Alam-i-lahut*. The last two chapters, on the nature of Truth, are undoubtedly from the pen of Dara, but they appear to have been added to it as a *supplement* at a later date.

Dara, like every learned Muslim theosophist, was deeply influenced by Neo-Platonism.[2] He professes to communicate only that which he heard from his spiritual teachers or read in standard

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[1] Dara accompanies the Emperor to Kashmir, *Pad.* ii. 413; returns to Lahor, *ibid.*, pp. 467-9; Shah Jahan visits Nadira Banu after recovery, *ibid.*, p. 634.

[2] ". . . . When Plato heard this, he believed in Moses, and acknowledged that he was a messenger of God". (*Risala*, text p. 18; *The Compass of Truth*, p. 18).

works on Sufi-ism. It is unfair to expect a critical and scientific spirit in an author who is also a devotee and is dealing with occultism. With all its faults and merits *Risala-i-Haqnuma* is a faithful mirror of Dara's personality and character. In all fairness to him it must be admitted that only those who have spiritual insight can, indeed, do justice to the author. The elements of Sufi-ism were never put in a more attractive and intelligible form by any other writer within such a small compass.

4. *Majmua-ul-Baharain* (Mingling of two Oceans). This tract was the first fruit of the comparative study of Islam and Hinduism by Dara Shukoh. The date of its composition is uncertain; but there is very little doubt that it was written cir. 1650-1656. The Prince introduces his treatise in right orthodox style with a praise of God in whom Islam and Hinduism meet, followed by an invocation of peace and blessings upon Mustapha (the Prophet), his family and his chief

Companions. This is enough to prove that Dara had not renounced allegiance to God and his Prophet. The Prince says that by constant association and frequent discourse with the Hindus he discovered that as regards the ways and means of knowing God, the difference between the Hindus and the Musalmans was only verbal, the conflict being one of language and expression (*ikhtalaf-i-lafzi*). In this work he has culled together the elementary principles of the theory of Creation, common to Brahmanism and Islam. In his pride of authorship the Prince says that he writes for "the elect" of the two communities, who only can be benefited by his industry and researches. He has nothing but contempt for the commonalty of the two creeds, "the blockheads without insight" (*kund-fahaman-i-ghair-bin*).

Undoubtedly the Prince struck an original line of investigation which, if honestly pursued for the benefit of this neglected commonalty, may achieve great things in the present century, when the

fate of India depends on a fresh attempt at the mutual comprehension of her two spiritual elements and an appreciative study of her two apparently discordant cultures.

This work of Dara Shukoh is the first serious and scholarly attempt in this direction, and has as such a unique interest for every student of Indian History. Dara was not a great Sanskritist like Al-Beruni; nor did he possess the calm judgment and critical acumen of that renowned scholar. He had to rely mostly upon the Pandits who hardly agree among themselves in the interpretation of their literature and philosophy. Owing to these limitations the conclusions of the princely author may not be quite acceptable to specialists of the present age. The main thesis of the Prince in this work was to prove that the ideas of Hindu cosmogony were similar to those embodied in the Quran. The task of the Prince was one of exceptional difficulty, and therefore it is no wonder if his analogies and

parallelisms are sometimes far-fetched and superficial.[1]

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1 As the publication of the complete text of the *Majmua-al-Baharain* with translation has of late been announced by the Secretary, A. S. B., it is unnecessary to translate any part of this work here for elucidation.

SECTION 4.—SIRR-I-AKBAR OR SIRR-UL-ASRAR

The last and greatest of Dara's literary achievements was the translation of 52 *Upanishads* from their Sanskrit original into graceful and masterly Persian prose, under the title of Sirr-i-Akbar (the Great Secret), or as it is found named in some MSS., *Sirr-ul-asrar* (the Secret of Secrets). A more suitable title for the *Upanishads* in their Persian garb can hardly be imagined than "the Great Secret or Secret of secrets", both being very suggestive of the nature of their contents, which the Aryan sages always held गुह्याद्गुह्यतम: (The greatest of all secrets). Dara opens his Introduction with an equally appropriate praise of God whose Essence is compared to a point or dot, having an existence without length, breadth, or depth, indivisible and all-pervading. This was indeed the *summum bonum* of the spiritual experience of Dara, as well as of every seeker after God who, they say, exists, but whose

only be described in terms of negation (*neti, neti*). It was the insatiable thirst for the fullest exposition of the doctrine of *Tauhid* or Oneness of God that brought him at last to its very fountain-head, the *Upanishads.* The Prince took a hint from the Quran which says: "Indeed it is an honoured *Quran in a book that is hidden.* None shall touch it, but the purified ones. It is a revelation by the Lord of the worlds" (Sura LVI). And commenting on this passage Dara says that this (hidden Book) can be neither *Jabur* (the Psalms), nor *Taurit* (the Books of Moses), nor *Injil* (the Gospels); nor does it refer to the *Lauh-i-Mahfuz,* the Protected Tablet under the throne of God, because the word "tanzil" means something revealed which the Protected Tablet is not. According to him the *Upanishad* could be none other than the "hidden Book" of the Quran; because the etymological significance of the Upanishad suggests "that which is taught in secret". Dara is

being earlier than that of all the three Scriptures mentioned above. But few would agree either with Dara's interpretation of the Quranic verse or with his assumption that the Prophet through whom the Quran was revealed ever knew of the existence of the *Upanishads*. At any rate, it suited the purpose of this great missionary of peace and reconciliation, whose ultimate object in his literary and spiritual pursuits was to establish harmony between the two apparently conflicting cultures and creeds of India.[1]

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[1] Mr. Nevill, on the authority of a local tradition perhaps writes that Dara Shukoh spent several years of his life in Benares, where his name is preserved in the muhalla Daranagar. It was here, he says, that Dara wrote the Persian translation of *Upanishads* with the help of 150 *pandits* (Benares District Gaz. P. 196). Accordingly, I wrote on p. 22 of this book, "Dara visited it (Allahabad) once only (1656-1657), and completed *at Benares* his monumental work . . . . translation of 50 *Upanishads* on 1st July, 1657." The whole sentence should be rejected in view of the discovery of a MS. (by Mr. Mahesh Prasad of Allahabad) in which there is a very definite mention of the date and place of the completion of the work. I have in order to test the accuracy of the passage in the Ms. of Mr. Mahesh Das,—traced the movements of Dara as given in the *Padshahnama*. It is proved beyond doubt that Dara could not have been in Allahabad or Benares in the year 1657 A.D. Dara, who always accompanied Shah Jahan in his tours, did

Dara says in the Introduction that he got together a number of Sannyasis and Pandits residing in Benares, the abode of Hindu learning, and well-versed in the Vedas and Upanishads, and with their help completed the translation of the Upanishads in six months, on Monday, the 26th Ramzan, 1067 A.H. (28th June, 1657) at his palace, *Manzil-i-Nigambodh* in the city of Delhi. Only once in life did Dara's passion for literary work get the better of his filial affection ; because

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not accompany his ailing father who left Delhi in February, 1657 for Mukhlispur. This absence of Dara can only be accounted for by some very urgent work, and this was perhaps his pre-occupation with the *Upanishads*. 26th Ramzan, 1067 according to the Calendar was a Sunday; but this is immaterial, as we invariably find one day's difference. I have extensively utilised Mr. Mahesh Das's article "Unpublished Translation of the *Upanishads* by Prince Dara Shukoh" (published in Dr. Modi Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1930, p. 622-638). By a closer study of the text of the Translation I have been able to rectify some inaccuracies on the part of Mr. Mahesh Das. This will be discussed in the second volume of this work where I have printed the full text of the Introduction, and the Glossary (परिभाषा) and also extracts from translations of the *Chāndogya, Brihadāranyaka, Kena*, and *Chhurika Upanishads* (pers. text, p. 141-176), with their English versions as specimens.

though heat and pestilence were depopulating the imperial capital in the summer of 1657, and the ailing Shah Jahan had to leave the city for a change to Mukhlispur, Dara chose to stay back for completing this work.

As regards the nature of the Persian rendering, Dara says that he "himself rendered into Persian (the *Upanikhats* which is the store-house of the doctrine of Unity, *ganj-i-tauhid*) without any increase or decrease, without any selfish motive, sentence for sentence and word for word."[1]

A comparison of any Persian passage at random with the published Sanskrit text will at once convince the reader of the truth of what Dara says about the nature of his work. Dara may be accused of this much transgression that in a very few cases, instead of translating directly the cryptic sentences of the original text of the Upanishads, he has rendered into

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1 Pers. text, p. 144.

Persian the commentary of Sankara[1] on those passages for the sake of accuracy free from ambiguity. It is also interesting to notice his slight adaptation of some passages to make things intelligible to Muhammadans, for whom particularly this translation was meant. He took much pains to make his work easily intelligible to men of average intellect who had no grounding in Hindu mythology and philosophy. We must say he has eminently succeeded in this attempt. The *Sirr-i-Akbar* of Dara Shukoh has not only all the merits of a good translation, but also the compactness and charm of an original work.

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1 As for example in the *Brihadaranyak Upanishat* four species of horses are mentioned: Haya (हय), Vaji (वाजि) Arba (अर्वा), and Ashwa (अश्व) assigned for mount respectively to *Devas, Ghandharvas, Asuras,* and men. Dara translates the passage thus: "And the Arabi horse (*asp-i-Arabi*) which on account of its swift speed, is called *Haya*, takes the angels (*Ferishtāhāh*) to their destination; *Bāji*, which is a horse of the *Iraqi* breed, is mounted by the *Gandharvas*; *Arbā*, which is of the Kachchi breed is ridden by *Asuras*; and *Ashwa*, or Turki horse carries men to their destination." Without affecting the sense Dara has aptly introduced the Arabi, Iraqi, Kachchi, and Turki breeds of horses, though unwarranted either by the original text or its commentary by Sankara.

Dara was the first serious student not only of Comparative Religion, but also of Comparative Mythology in Mediæval India. The most enduring portion of his work is his Islamic nomenclature for clothing in Muslim garb Hindu ideas, Hindu gods, and the bewildering variety of beings that figure in Hindu mythology. Not to speak of Persians, Muslims of every nationality except perhaps the Chinese Muslim, will more readily welcome the *Sirr-i-Akbar* of Dara either in its Persian original, or in the translation of this Persian version into their particular languages, than any translation from the most authoritative English version of the Upanishads. No amount of explanation will give a clearer idea of Mahadev[1] to the Musalman than Dara's identification of this diety with the angel Israfil, who, according to Muslim belief, stands below the throne (*Arsh*) of God, with a horn in his hand; Israfil will blow his horn as a signal for *Qiyamat-i-Kubra*

[1] Pers. text, p. 147.

(*mahapralaya*) when the seven higher and seven nether worlds would fold up and be resolved into the *Primæval Mist.*

SECTION 5.—MINOR WORKS OF DARA SHUKOH.

Dara Shukoh was an indefatigable propagandist, and impelled by a sort of missionary enthusiasm, he turned out a number of books and tracts on various aspects of Sufism during his literary career of a little more than 15 years. But nowhere do we come across a complete list of Dara Shukoh's works, though Dara himself in scattered passages mentions "several tracts" written by him; but he has not given us even the titles of these books. It is quite possible that some more books of Dara may come to light in future.

Among the minor works of Dara Shukoh, *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* (completed in A.H. 1062-1652 A.D.), marks a very important stage in the evolution of Dara's religious views and spiritual progress. Though the Prince had not yet actually stepped outside the bourn of Islam in

search of the origin of the doctrine of *Tauhid* (oneness of God), his views and his attitude towards the Shariyat were about this time veering towards those of Mansur bin Hallaj. *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* was written by Dara to meet the public criticism of his pantheistic views which, in the opinion of the orthodox school, were altogether un-Islamic.

In the Introduction to this book Dara says: "Sometimes, in a state of ecstasy and enthusiasm, I pronounce words which only highest truths and knowledge permit: certain sordid and vile individuals, as well as insipid devotees because of their narrowness blame me and accuse me of heresy and *inkar* (denial of God). It is because of it that there came to me the idea of reconciling [lit. reuniting] the words of great believers in the unity, of saints and of those who have acquired the knowledge of the Reality; . . . . so that this may serve as a convincing argument for [silencing] those who are *Dajjals* under the aspect of Christ, Pharaoh with apparent qualities

of Moses, Abu Jahal calling himself a disciple of Muhammad."[1]

At the very start of his spiritual life Dara imbibed through association with the great saint Mian Mir and his fraternity—belief in the essential superiority of the esoteric to the exoteric interpretation of Islam, and of the doctrine of *Hama-u-st* (everything is He) to that of *Hama-az-u-st* (everything is from Him). Unlike other Sufis he began broadcasting his views in several books and tracts on Sufism written by himself. At first he wrote and spoke with a certain amount of caution and reserve; *e.g.*, in his first book, *Safinat-ul-awliya*, Dara says, "On the night of 27th Ramzan, 1049 A.H., at the age of twenty-five of the author, this book was completed. . . . . *I have not dwelt on great and subtle truths* uttered by the sages of old, which common people do not comprehend. When Shaikh Abu Said Kharraj reached Egypt, some people

1 *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* (Mujtabai Press, Delhi); quoted in Dr. Yusuf Husain's book, L'Inde Mystique au Moyen Age (p. 179-180).

said to him: 'Why do you not speak from the pulpit?' The Shaikh replied, '. . . . A discourse on truth to the uninitiated amounts to slander.[1]'" But during 13 years (1639—1652 A.D.) that elapsed since the publication of this first work of his, Dara met several renowned Sufis of a more advanced school; *e.g.*, Mulla Shah, Mir Sulaiman Misri, and Shah Dil-ruba,[2] and imbibed their extreme views. The conviction that now filled his heart was so great that it forced its way out breaking through every barrier of caution and fear of consequence. This has perhaps led a Muslim critic of the orthodox school to remark that Dara Shukoh by writing this book only betrayed himself, and in attempting to defend himself with his pen the Prince acted in a manner less heroic and honourable than that of Mansur bin Hallaj, Shahabuddin Suhrawardy or Sarmad, who died for their conviction without

1 See *Khatima* of Safinat-ul-awliya, p. 216; (Newalkishore Press).

2 *Hasanat-ul-Arifin*, p. 26-36 (Mujtabai Press, Delhi).

opening their lips in self-defence! Elsewhere the same critic sums up his criticism of Dara's *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* by saying that he would very strongly recommend this book to those who want to study the perversion [lit., ruin] of Sufism![1]

The pantheism of Dara finds a more eloquent expression in his *Tariqat-ul-Haqiqat.*[2] This had been the favourite theme of Persian Sufi poets for several centuries before the birth of Dara. In a similar vein Dara writes:

"Thou art in the Kaaba as well as
in the Somnath temple;
In the convent as well as in the
tavern.
Thou art at the same time the
light and the moth;
The wine and the cup, the sage
and the fool, the friend and
the stranger."

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[1] Sayyid Najib Ashraf Nadvi's Urdu Introduction to *Ruqqat-i-Alamgir,* p. 361-363; footnote, p. 362 (Published by *Dar-ul-Musannafin,* Azamgarh, U.P.).

[2] See L'Inde Mystique au Moyen Age, p. 178.

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"Thou art thyself the rose and the
amorous nightingale.
Thou art thyself the moth around
the light of thine own beauty."

Besides the above-mentioned works, Dara wrote an interesting Introduction to the Persian Translation of a compendium of the *Joga-Vashishta* Ramayana made under his superintendence with the title *Tarjuma-i-Joga-Vashishta* in 1656 A.D. It runs thus: "When I had gone through the Persian translation of this book (the Joga-Vashishta), which is attributed to Shaikh Sufi, I saw in a dream two dignified figures of calm appearance, one of them standing on a higher level than the other. I was drawn involuntarily to their presence . . . . and Vashishta with great affection and graciousness placed his hand on my back, and said: 'Rama, here is an earnest seeker of knowledge, and a comrade (lit., brother) of yours in true search of the Reality; embrace him.'

Ramchandra held me in his embrace with great warmth and love. Then Vashishta gave to Ramchandra some sweets which I ate out of his hand. After having seen this in dream my desire to have this book translated became greater than ever; and one man from among my servants was appointed to translate this work. This translation was completed under the supervision of the Pandits of Hindustan." An Urdu adaptation of *Tarjuma-i-Joga-Vashishta* made by Maulvi Abul Hasan under the title of *Minhaj-us-Salikin* enjoys great popularity in Upper India.

That the philosophical views of Dara were rapidly veering towards the Advaita Vedantism becomes quite apparent from his selection of Sanskrit works for translation; e.g., *Bhagavad Gita*, *Joga-Vashishta*, and *Probodha-Chandrodaya*. The last one is a drama of unique interest written by a Sannyasi named Krishna Misra about the year 1065 A.D. This is considered as the first attempt in Sanskrit literature to demonstrate the inner harmony of diverse systems of Hindu

philosophy. "The play (The Moonrise of Wisdom) is an allegory of deliverance of the human spirit from the temptations and delusions of the world. Vishu-bhakti stirs up Discrimination and using the Upanishads, Faith, Good Sense, and their numerous allies, inflicts a signal defeat on Delusion, Love, and Greed, and their many attendants. The rise (*udaya*) of Wisdom naturally follows (*probodha*), and the human spirit realises its own absolute identity with God, renounces Action and adopts dispassionate asceticism as the only right rule of life."[1] *The Khud-parasti* (worship of Self) of Dara was the result of this realization of the absolute identity of the human spirit with God; and the final stage of the evolution of his religion and religious life was something like that dispassionate asceticism which rejects dogmas and rituals of religion as superfluous.

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1 Farquhar's *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 227.

CHAPTER VII

THE INTERLUDE (1654-1657 A.D.)

Between two signal failures, namely, his unsuccessful siege of Qandahar and the disastrous War of Succession, three eventful years constitute nevertheless a happy interlude in the life of Dara Shukoh. This period was marked by his greatest successes, literary, political, and diplomatic, and it was during this period that the imperial crown all but touched his brow, and his golden throne shone by the side of the Peacock throne of Shah Jahan, with whom he appeared before the world as the joint ruler of Hindustan. These years, which also synchronised with the period of Aurangzib's Second Viceroyalty of the Deccan, were, however, years of sullen and treacherous calm—only a prelude to the War of Succession. Clouds of the impending conflict gathered in the distant political horizon which set everybody athinking about the future of the empire of Shah Jahan. Though alive to the danger, Dara never lost his

optimism, and having put off thought of the evil day, he would in his philosophic reverie sometimes ramble into the presence of Rishi Vashishta and hold converse with him, and sometimes traverse the wilderness of the Upanishads in a confident search of the Hidden Book alluded to in the holy Quran. His friends and well-wishers would now and then rouse him from his political torpor by gentle hints about the hostile designs of his brothers, who were unceasingly weaving diplomatic meshes around him. We propose to survey briefly those activities of Dara during this period which have a bearing on the War of Succession.

SECTION 1.—MARRIAGES OF SULAIMAN SHUKOH.

As early as 1646 A.D., when Sulaiman Shukoh was only a boy of nine, Dara was in correspondence with Mirza Rajah Jai Singh for a match between his son and a daughter of Rao Amar Singh Rathor by a sister of Mirza Rajah. The primary motive for such a matrimonial

alliance was purely political, as we learn from the following letter of Dara to Mirza Rajah. "As this daughter[1] (of Rao Amar Singh Rathor) is born of a sister of yours, it is better if she is not betrothed there ; had this girl been any other (than your sister's daughter), you might have given her in marriage wherever you liked. I wish that you and your relatives were united by alliance with my son Sulaiman Shukoh. I have disclosed this affair to you because I look upon you as the most sincere well-wisher and a particular friend of mine, and regard you as worthy of my highest favours."[2]

Dara spoke out his mind sincerely by saying that the greatest recommendation of the girl in his eyes was her relationship with Mirza Rajah, whom he

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1 She was perhaps Indar Kumari, referred to as a widow of Sulaiman Shukoh in *Akhbarat* 20-4.

2 Dara's letter to Jai Singh, reaching the latter at Aurangabad (?) on Safar 24, 1056 A. H.; vide Pers. text, p. 122. Aurangabad is clearly a mistake for some other place; because in that year, 1056 A.H. (1646 A.D.) Mirza Rajah was serving under Murad in Balkh. (Dr. Banarasi Prasad's History of Shahjahan, p. 195).

would not like to see united by a matrimonial alliance with anybody else,—apparently with any of Shah Jahan's other grandsons. It appears that this negotiation soon resulted in a betrothal of the Rajah's niece with Sulaiman Shukoh. The actual marriage, which had been postponed for eight years, took place in 1654 A.D. Urgent political considerations seem to have precipitated the celebration of this match. It was a reapproachment with the powerful Mirza Rajah with whom the Prince had had a serious misunderstanding almost amounting to a breach during the third siege of Qandahar. Besides, the news leaked out of a secret family pact between Shuja and Aurangzib made at Agra in December, 1652, when Shuja's daughter Gulrukh Banu was betrothed to Sultan Muhammad, the eldest son of Aurangzib. As a move against this hostile design of his brothers, Dara prepared for the celebration of the marriage of Sulaiman immediately after his return from the siege of Qandahar.

On April 4, (1654 A.D.) the nuptial

ceremony was performed according to the strict injunctions of the Shariyat (Canon-law).[1] A fortnight later (18th April, 1654) the Emperor with his retinue paid a congratulatory visit to Dara's mansion and the ceremony closed with the usual pomp and festivity.

Two years after the marriage with Rao Amar Singh's daughter, Sulaiman Shukoh contracted a second marriage with a daughter of Jafar Khan's younger brother. In this affair Shah Jahan himself seems to have taken the initiative. This alliance was partly a compliment to the family of Jafar Khan (who had married a younger sister of Mumtaz Mahal), and partly a concession to the feelings of the Muslim nobility in general. The girl[2] was brought from Patna, and the marriage took place on the night of October 26, 1656.

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1 Marriage of Sulaiman, Waris, 86 a; the Emp's congratulatory visit, ibid 87 a.

2 Munawwar Bai is referred to in the *Akhbarat* as another wife of Sulaiman Shukoh.

SECTION 2.—DARA SHUKOH AND MAHARANA RAJ SINGH SISODIA

Maharana Jagat Singh of Mewar, father of Raj Singh, had begun extensive repairs to the fortress of Chitor in violation of an express condition of the existing treaty between the emperor Jahangir and Maharana Amar Singh. This work of restoration was pushed on with greater vigour by his son Raj Singh, who ascended the *gadi* of Mewar on October 10, 1652. The new Maharana made an unseemly demonstration by marching with his army to the imperial frontier, and sent a belated contingent of his troops under Bhupat[1] (son of Sahasa, son of Maharana Pratap Singh), to the third siege of Qandahar (1653 A.D.) only under pressure. The Emperor, however, tolerated these disloyal acts of the rulers of Mewar till the affair of Qandahar came to a close.

On 21st May, 1654, the Emperor sent a mace-bearer, Abdal Beg with two gift-

[1] Bhupat returns from duty, gets a khilat with leave to return home on 21st May, 1654; Waris, 87 a.

horses for the Maharana and a *farman* directing him to send immediately to the Deccan his contingent of service-troops to serve there under Aurangzib. The real mission of Abdal Beg was perhaps to spy out the Rana's armed strength, and the extent of his repairs to Chitor. It was reported that most of the old gates of Chitor had been restored, and several new ones constructed; and that walls were being built even in places difficult of access. The *wazir* Sadullah Khan was appointed to the command of an expeditionary force numbering 30,000 troops and given leave on September 4, 1654 to invade Mewar and demolish the fortifications of Chitor. Twenty days after the Emperor accompanied by Dara started for Ajmir *via* Amber, with the ostensible object of visiting the tomb of Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti.[1] A letter of Dara to Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, written on the day of the Emperor's departure, reveals the great anxiety of the Prince for the fate of the Maharana: "To-day

[1] Chitor expedition, Waris, 90 b; the Emp's march, 91 b.

the Emperor starts for Ajmir and I shall pass by near your home and be a guest of yours. As a separate army has been sent against the territory of the Rana and I have, out of kindness and favour, always been attentive to the interests of the Rana, I wish to represent to His Majesty the truth about his loyalty and devotion, so that he and his territory may be immune from the shock [*asib.*] of the victorious army".[1] Maharana Raj Singh had assembled an army in Chitor; but his better sense prevailed just in time, and seeing no other alternative than to sue for pardon, he sent a deputation to Dara.

On October 4, 1654 this deputation consisting of Rao Ramchand Chauhan, Raghodas Jhala, Sanwaldas Rathor, and the priest Gharibdas interviewed the Prince at the stage of Khalilpur. Dara worked hard to prevail upon the Emperor to relent, and Shah Jahan at last permitted Dara's trusty servant Chandra-

1 Jaipur Records, vide Pers. text p. 129.

bhan Brahman to proceed to Udaipur for settling the affair. Before the arrival of Chandrabhan, the Maharana had sent Madhusudhan Bhatta and Rai Singh Jhala with proposals of peace to Sadullah Khan, who was bent on forcing a war on the Rana and annexing his territory to the imperial domain, naturally resented this intervention of Dara. The Rana had no option but to submit to the hard terms of the imperial court, namely, the cession of parganas[1] Pur, Mandal, etc., and agreed to send his son to the imperial camp with Dara's *diwan*, Shaik Abdul Karim, who accordingly rode for Udaipur on 2nd November to escort the Sisodia prince. On 4th November, the Emperor granted away Mandalgarh to Rup Singh Rathor, and on 29th of the same month, he ordered Arjun, son of Bithaldas Gaur, to take effective possession of Bednur which had lately belonged to the Rana.[2] On the 21st November, 1654 the eldest son of Rana, aged seven

1 For details see Ojha's *Rajputana ka Itihas*, p. 845.

2 Waris, 88 b.

or eight, arrived at the imperial camp and made his salute to the Emperor. As the prince had not yet been given any name by the Rana, the Emperor gave him an auspicious and classical name, Sobhag Singh, which however did not please his father who changed it to Sultan Singh! The wazir had been ordered to evacuate Chitor as "the guilt of the Rana was forgiven through the intercession of the Crown Prince".[1] Sadullah Khan after having demolished the walls and fortifications of Chitor during 15 days, and done whatever injury he could to the possessions of the Rana, rejoined the imperial camp on 22nd November. Having dismissed the Sisodia prince with presents for himself and his father (26th November) the Emperor returned to Agra on the 17th December, 1654.

Thus ended the affair of Maharana Raj Singh, who indeed escaped a great calamity through the strenuous efforts of Dara Shukoh. The Prince in a letter to

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1 Ibid.

Mirza Rajah Jai Singh writes: "The particular kindness and love which I bear towards the Rajput race has become manifest; the territory and honour of the Rana remain intact. Let it be known to the whole Rajput race to what extent I wish well of them."[1] But the political speculation of Dara was upset by the very act of the Emperor, who had forcibly seized some of the paraganas of the Maharana as a penalty for his rebellion. The ruler of Mewar like the common run of man thought less of what had been saved than of the little lost to him, inspite of the utmost efforts of a friend and patron. The Maharana, who had merely exploited a noble sentiment of Dara to extricate himself from a tight corner, now threw himself unscrupulously into the arms of his enemy Aurangzib. Shortly after the return of the imperal army from Mewar he sent Udaikaran Chauhan and Sankar Bhatta on a secret diplomatic mission to Aurangzib in the south.

1 Vide Pers. text, pp. 121-122; the date 1055 in the printed text is a misprint; the correct date being A. H. 1064.

Aurangzib in return despatched to Udaipur two trusty agents of his own, Indar Bhat and Fidai Khwajah with a *khilat*, a diamond ring, and an elephant for the Maharana.[1] The attitude of the Sisodia chief towards Dara revealed to the world the futility of building upon sentiments which in politics count less than self-interest even with the most sentimental race.

SECTION 3.—DARA SHUKOH GETS THE TITLE OF SHAH-I-BULAND-IQBAL (3RD FEBRUARY, 1655)

After his return from Rajputana to Delhi the Emperor publicly invested the Crown Prince with almost regal honours on his 66th Lunar birthday, (Saturday, 3rd February, 1655). Before the *darbar* time the Emperor sent from the royal wardrobe a robe of honour sparkling with gems and pearls worth Rs. 2,50,000 to the mansion of Dara Shukoh. The Prince dressed in this robe, came to attend the

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1 *Two nishans* of Aurangzib to Raj Singh give details of this exchange of envoys and presents between them. See Ojha's *Rajputana ka itihas*, p. 844, footnote 3.

weighing ceremony, which being over the Emperor took off from his head a *sarband* (a fillet for fastening on the turban) worth 4½ lakhs of rupees set with a rose-coloured ruby and two big strings of seed-pearls, and with his own hand tied it on to the head of the Prince. Besides this robe of honour and *sarband* a cash gift of thirty lakhs of rupees was made to him. The Emperor addressed the Prince by a new title *Shah-i-Buland-Iqbal*, and asked him to take his seat on a gold throne which had been placed by the side of the imperial throne. Dara at first hesitated, but being pressed by his father he took his seat. In a letter to his spiritual guide (*Pir*) Mulla Shah Badakhshi, Dara writes, "[After the distribution of *khilats* and promotions]. . . . . His Majesty said, 'My child, I have made up my mind not to do any important business or decide on any great undertaking henceforth without your knowledge and without consulting you first; . . . . . . I cannot sufficiently thank God for the favour that Allah has blessed

me with a son like you . . . . ."[1] "The Emperor", says Waris, "ordered that the nobles and other courtiers should go to the palace of the Crown Prince to congratulate him. On 23rd February, 1655, the Emperor paid a visit in state to Dara's house to congratulate the Prince on his getting the title of Shah. It is fully borne out by the history of the last two years of Shah Jahans' reign that the Crown Prince had an increasing share in the administration of affairs, and except in matters of foreign policy his voice was all but final in his father's cabinet.

SECTION 4.—DARA SHUKOH AND COURT POLITICS

Shah Jahan, like every absolute monarch, was the personification of the State, and his darbar, whether stationary in capitals or on the move in camps, was the motive-spring of the administrative machinery of the empire. Personal

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1 Dara's letter to Mulla Shah, vide Pers. text p. 21-23. This letter supplements the brief notice of this event in the *Padshah-nama* (Waris, 96 a). As regards date and other details the letter fully agrees with the narrative in the court history.

influence with the Emperor was a marketable commodity, which was eagerly sought after by a host of clients from every corner of the empire. Nobody, whether a mighty ambassador like Sir Thomas Roe or a humble scholar expectant of a few acres of rent-free land, could have his business done at Court without securing a "patron" there and propitiating him with presents. Great nobles and vassal princes, who kept their agents at Court, nevertheless invariably sought a "patron" to have their wishes satisfied. The prestige and influence of a "patron" with the Emperor were determined by the number and status of their clients. Nobles inimical to one another, feudatories in dispute with their neighbours, and contiguous vassal states quarrelling over their boundaries, and even foreign trading companies bent on elbowing one another out, ranged themselves in hostile groups under "patrons" struggling for influence at Court, and hence the formation of factions was inevitable.

There were two main parties at court headed respectively by the incapable though ambitious Crown Prince, and the honest and able wazir Sadullah Khan; and between these two the Emperor swung like a pendulum being drawn by sentiment or self-interest in opposite directions with varying force. This rivalry between his most beloved son, and his most esteemed minister and friend, made Shah Jahan almost as unhapy as the enmity between Prince Salim and Shaikh Abul Fazl embittered the last days of Akbar. The Prince hated the ability of Sadullah no less than his Sunni bigotry. In his jealousy and arrogance, Dara used to speak contemptuously of Sadullah and his admiring pupil Aurang-zib. Long after the wazir and the Crown Prince had been united in common dust, anecdotes continued to be told about their mutual jealousy and the snubbing repartees of the ready-witted Sadullah, and even a most malicious and false allegation was made that Dara had poisoned the wazir. It was perhaps in allusion to

the enmity of Dara towards Sadullah and his solicitations on behalf of condemned criminals and nobles under the Emperor's displeasure—(as we shall notice later on) —that Shah Jahan is once said to have remarked: "No doubt the Crown Prince possesses the resources, majesty, and pomp of a King; but he appears to be inimical to honest people, being good to the bad, and bad to good men."[1] Aurangzib relates another anecdote, "Dara Shukoh was not on good terms with Sadullah Khan whom he used to trouble and vex: once he said, 'Great is His Majesty's graciousness to you: from what depth to what a height His Majesty has elevated you.' The Khan, ready-witted as he was, retorted, 'In truth it is even so: but at first I should have been, on the Day of Resurrection, ranked with the learned, and now among His Majesty's ministers: let him know who can understand it'."[2]

Khafi Khan also speaks of Dara's

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1 Letters of Aurangzib, B. 54; A. 37.

2 Anecdotes of Aurangzib, F. 212; K. 334.

enmity to Sadullah, against whom the Prince is said to have made an allegation to the Emperor to the effect that the wazir had assigned to him desolated parganas yielding a poor revenue while he took prosperous ones for himself; having learnt this Sadullah sent for the agent of the Crown Prince and having taken over the parganas ruined by the oppressive *amils* of Dara to his own jagir, gave him in exchange flourishing ones according to the estimate of Dara's servant. Within a year or two it was found that these very *mahals* had become worse cultivated and poorer in the yield of revenue.[1] The behaviour of the Crown Prince to Sadullah, so goes another anecdote—once drew a sharp reprimand from Shah Jahan. One day Bahara Mal, the *diwan* of Dara Shukoh, presented to the Emperor an account-sheet (*fard*) showing a balance of ten lakhs of rupees due by the Treasury to the Prince. The Emperor passed it on to Sadullah Khan to

[1] Khafi Khan, p. 738.

report on it after scrutiny in the office of the High Diwan. Sadullah at once remarked that firstly such a big sum could not be paid from the Treasury, and secondly the bill was not in order, because a balance had not been struck between previous receipts and expenditure, and the current account. After the Emperor had left the darbar, Dara spoke some harsh words to Sadullah Khan, and this the Emperor came to learn in the inner apartments from the news-sheet of daily occurrences forwarded by the inspector (*mushrif*) of the Hall of Private Audience. Shah Jahan immediately penned a letter censuring the Prince for his conduct, "..... Bahara Mal looks to the benefit of your household, and Sadullah is there to guard my interests (*lit.*, wealth). Certainly this sheet ought to have been correctly prepared by your office, and it was proper for you to see whether this would possibly pass through Sadullah's hand... It is certainly very bad to ill-treat servants of the State; to win their hearts is praiseworthy". In the afternoon, the

Emperor sent to Sadullah Khan a present of several pieces (*thān*) of gold embroidered *Mahmudi* cloth.[1]

Sadullah was a good man only with regard to those that would not cross his path. Dara's enmity to Sadullah was perhaps a fact (though borne out mainly by the testimony of his enemies); but this was not due to any depravity of the Prince's heart; it was the result of the inevitable clash between two ambitious persons disputing for mastery over the Emperor's mind, and supreme power at Court. The Crown Prince considered Sadullah as much a servant of his own as of his father; while Sadullah, incomparably superior to Dara in ability, fearless in his honesty, and proud beyond his station, would not brook the superior airs of the Prince.

Dara, however, never used his boundless influence with his father to injure any person, though he often misused it to

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1 Anecdotes of Aurangzib, B. 53 adds:
"With a cash gift of 3,000 *dinars*"; A. 46;
F. 190, substantially identical.

benefit many unworthy people. Nothing pleased him more than the liberal exercise of the royal clemency to heal a wounded heart or to save a life, however justly forfeited. He could not resist tears—even crocodile tears, and disbelieve any pathetic tale of misery concocted with skill. So among the clients of Crown Prince we find desperate rebels like Champat Rai Bundela, dismissed nobles[1]

[1] Some notable instances :

1. Fāqir Khan, son of Baqar Khan Najumsani, who had for some misconduct, been forbidden the *darbar*, and dismissed from his *mansab* was reinstated to his former rank of 2-hazari *zat*, 1,000 sawar (6th January, 1654; Waris, 83 b).

2. Shaikh Farid, son of Qutbuddin Khan, who had for some grave offence lost his *mansab*—was, through the intercession of Dara received back into favour, and given a rank of 3-hazari zat, 2,000 sawar (4th June, 1654; Waris, 87 b).

3. One very old Muslim grandee of high rank, and enjoying great favour at Court had lost his *mansab*, and been denied admittance to the darbar for the past eight years and two months. On the 11th March, 1655, this old man through the intercession of Dara was given back his rank of 5-hazari (?) zat, 4,000 sawar, appointed to Sarkar Jaunpur *vice* Mukarram Khan, and presented with an Iraqi horse with gold-saddle and an elephant. The name of this old man is missing in Sir J. N. Sarkar's MS. of Waris used by me. From the list of *mansabdars* given at the end of this Ms., it appears that this man must be Mutaqqid Khan, 4-hazari zat, 4,000 sawar

like Faqir Khan, and Shaikh Farid (who had been forbidden the Court for grave offences), and scoundrels like Malik Jiwan stretched out for execution on the platform of the police prefect of Delhi.

SECTION 5.—DARA SHUKOH AND RAJAH PRITHVICHAND OF SRINAGAR

The Garhwal principalities sheltered within the inaccessible fringe of the Himalayas had generally been immune from Muslim invasion since the disastrous expedition in the reign of the mad Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq. The Emperor Shah Jahan renewed the enterprise in 1636, being lured by the reported existence of gold mines in Srinagar, which was then ruled by the notorious Nakkati Rani (Nose-cutting queen). Najabat

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who died at Jaunpur on the 12th Zilqada of the 29th Regnal Year (Waris, 97 b; 124 a), i.e., about a year after his restoration to office.

4. Malik Jiwan, who afterwards most treacherously betrayed the fugitive Dara—had been condemned to death by Shah Jahan for rebellion. Dara, intervened and procured a pardon for him.

Khan (Mirza Shuja, son of Shahrukh Mirza), *faujdar* of Saharanpur, who was nominated to the command of the expeditionary forces, was drawn by the tactics of the Rani far into the interior, where most of his troops perished of fever. Najabat Khan with a miserable remnant of his army escaped from the territory of the queen with their noses if not with their honour intact. In 1654 Shah Jahan, elated with his recent triumph over Maharana Raj Singh, diverted a portion of the army to a fresh attack on Srinagar. On 14th November, 1654, Khalilullah Khan was given leave from the neighbourhood of the city of Ajmir to march against Rajah Prithvichand of Srinagar with an army 8000 strong (Waris, 92 b). Aided by Rajahs Saubhagya-prakash of the Sirmur Hills and Bahadur-chand of Kumaon, the Muslim force penetrated into the interior of Srinagar territory, and next year took effective possession of Dun, above Hardawar. This was turned into a fortified base-camp of the imperialists, and has since then been

known as Deradun in popular parlance. Khalilullah Khan, whose incapacity was well-known, was retained only as the nominal commander-in-chief of the army, which was now practically put under the command of Chaturbhuj Chauhan. However, the war lingered on for two years, and on 20th January, 1656, Qasim Khan *Mir-atish* left Delhi with 4000 horse to reinforce the Mughal army at Dun. Rajah Prithvichand having despaired of ultimate success opened a long correspondence with Jahanara Begam, protesting his loyalty and innocence, and signified his willingness to submit if Prince Dara Shukoh would intercede for him. He sent his son Medini Singh to the Crown Prince who, on the 30th July introduced him to the *darbar*. Medini Singh presented on behalf of his father a *nazar* of one thousand *ashrafis* to the Emperor, who graciously pardoned all faults of his father, and bestowed on him a rich *khilat*, jewelled armlet (*dast-band*), and a Kipchaq horse with a gilt saddle.

SECTION 6.—DECCAN POLITICS

During the years 1654 to 1657, Aurangzib's intrigues and aggressive designs against the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur wholly engrossed the attention of the imperial Court. The Deccan question sharply divided the militarist party of Sadullah and Aurangzib from the peace-party of Dara and Jahanara. This faction fight at Court which culminated in the War of Succession, was certainly one of the pre-disposing causes of that war. Aurangzib had gone to the South in 1652 sorely aggrieved at the treatment meted out to him by Shah Jahan, who had unjustly refused him another chance of retrieving his prestige at Qandahar. His activities in the Deccan had, like every other activity of his life, one underlying motive and steadfast object; namely to equip himself for the inevitable day of contest with his eldest brother and to gather resources for that struggle. He plainly wanted to force a war on the weak and rich states of

Golconda and Bijapur because a war would place him at the head of large armies, train his officers, keep his arms bright, and provide him with the sinews of the coming war of succession.

Aurangzibs' greedy eyes first fell upon the rich territories and utter helplessness of Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda. At first he demanded the immediate payment of twenty lakhs of rupees as the difference due to the rise in the exchange ratio between the *hun* and the rupee (on the account of the Golconda tribute), during the last sixteen years (1637-1653!), forbade the ruler of Golconda to carry on war against the Hindu Rajah of Karnatak (unless, as the Prince shamelessly suggested, this interference was bought off for a price), and plotted with Mir Jumla, the wazir of Golconda to betray his master's interests and come over to the Mughal service. His ally Sadullah Khan brought the Emperor round to sanction this iniquitous policy by appealing to his greed. At last Aurangzib employed finesse and most

reprehensible cunning to ruin Golconda by suppressing a very important letter of Shah Jahan to Abdullah Qutb Shah, and suddenly invaded the territories of Golconda. Shah Jahan, as the historian of Aurangzib says, "in order to gratify Aurangzib" sanctioned only a demonstration of force to secure the release of the family of Mir Jumla, who was claimed by strange logic to be an imperial servant! But Aurangzib aimed at the very life of Abdullah Qutb Shah and the annexation of the whole kingdom of Golconda, and accordingly instructed his son Sultan Muhammad to entrap and murder the King of Golconda at a friendly interview, by displaying "cleverness, promptitude, and lightness of hand". The Mughal army captured Haidarabad and besieged the King in the fortress of Golconda. At this juncture Dara and Jahanara intervened effectually to save their client, the unfortunate Qutb Shah.

Ever since the time when the rulers of Golconda and Bijapur had carried their quarrel over the spoils of Karnatak to the

imperial Court, Dara and Aurangzib had been backing opposite parties. Naturally, Abdullah Qutb Shah sought the intercession of the Crown Prince to save his life and fortune from the machinations of Aurangzib. Shah Jahan had played so long into the hands of Aurangzib and Sadullah, who had steeled his heart against clemency and justice by a sinister appeal to his greed, land-hunger, and Sunni prejudice. Dara had only to appeal to the better sense of the Emperor, and place before him the case of the ruler of Golconda in its true light. The pendulum now swung towards the peace-party owing partly to recovery of the Emperor's innate sense of justice and partly perhaps to the exposure of the secret designs of his ambitious and unscrupulous son. The following letter of Dara to Abdullah Qutb Shah throws considerable light on this affair. "On the 29th Jamadi-ul-awwal (march 15, 1656) Mulla Abdus Samad came and brought with him three letters (*arzdasht*) written by Your Highness to His Majesty, the Emperor, to my

illustrious sister Jahanara Begam, and to me. I placed all the three letters before His Majesty, ... who out of graciousness wrote a *farman* of favour to Your Highness and despatched the same to Shaista Khan (for delivery);—so that it may be made clear to you that the Emperor . . . . . . *did not in fact sanction a siege of Golconda,* and *the occupation of Your Highness's territory.* On the contrary, it was desired that they should return taking with them, the sons, and other members of the family of Mir Muhammad Said.[1]

This was not a mean intrigue, no stabbing in the back on the part of malicious Dara, as Aurangzib and his blind apologists hold without assigning any reason. Early in February, an imperial letter of pardon (dated 8th February), with a robe of honour for Abdullah Qutb Shah had been despatched through

[1] Letter dated 2nd Jamadius-sani, 1066 A.H. (18th March, 1656); vide Pers text p. 133; Jamadius-sani in the body of the letter is evidently a copyist's error for *Jamadi-ul-awwal.* Abdullah Qutb Shah's letters to Dara pers. *text ibid* p. 34-52.

Aurangzib, who took the liberty to withhold it on the plausible ground that it would create difficulties in the settlement of terms. But in fact it was he who purposely prolonged negotiations so that he, like an expert angler, might play his game to the finish. Aurangzib, who was playing false with the Emperor, stands condemned in his own words. "Qutb-ul-mulk is now craving pardon . . . . . ." writes Aurangzib to Mir Jumla (early in March), "proposing that his mother would wait on me and that his daughter would be married to my son. But I wish to send him to the wilderness of destruction".[1] In short, Aurangzib stands convicted, out of his own mouth, of having practised low cunning and cruel injustice for ruining Golconda. If Dara intervened, even though for a bribe (as his enemies allege without any ground), to counteract this pernicious influence in politics, he cannot be accused of having

1 *Adab*, 81 a. Quoted in Sarkar's History of Aurangzib, Vols. I & II, p. 213, f.n.

betrayed the best interests of the empire, which were far from being identical with those of Aurangzib. Another proof of Aurangzib's treasonable conduct is furnished by the fact that he compelled Abdullah Qutb Shah to execute a secret *Ahad-nama* (Agreement) to the effect that after his death the issue of his daughter married to the eldest son of Aurangzib, should inherit the whole kingdom of Golconda to the total exclusion of all his other heirs; and this was done without the knowledge of the Emperor[1] who refused to sanction it when it was afterwards presented to him for confirmation. Further, Aurangzib defrauded the state of greater part of the spoils of Golconda over which an unseemly wrangle ensued between father and son. Even the great historian of Aurangzib seems to have been once and once only imposed upon by the neatly-written

[1] There is not the remotest allusion to this *ahadnama* in the court history, a fact which throws positive suspicion on Aurangzib's conduct; for the marriage of Aurangzib's son. see Waris, 110 a.

despatches of Aurangzib and Aurangzib's indignant parade of honesty and contempt of lucre pretending to return to his father *everything* he and his son had received as presents from Golconda!

Baulked of his prey in Golconda, Aurangzib turned his eyes on Bijapur, whose virtuous and able king Muhammad Adil Shah died at this time after a prosperous reign of thirty years (1626-1656). Aurangzib's joy at the death of this good king overflows through his letters to his friends like Mirza Rajah Jai Singh. Though Bijapur was an independent kingdom and had most faithfully observed the terms of peace with the Mughal Empire, Aurangzib plotted for its destruction. Imperialism, bold and avowed, is not so outrageous to our moral sentiments as the cloak of cant and hypocrisy with which politicians sometimes invest it in order to deceive mankind. Aurangzib, too, assumed it in order to induce his father to sanction a war of annexation against Bijapur. He started a convenient theory of the illegitimacy of

Ali Adil Shah II and appealed to the Emperor not to leave such a kingdom in the possession of a bastard, but to annex it to the empire for the good of the people. In anticipation of the Emperor's sanction of an invasion of Bijapur, Aurangzib mobilised his army on its frontier, intrigued to win over the wazir of Bijapur, and threw his treasury open to buy the desertion of Bijapur captains. The vacillating Emperor wavered for sometime; but he ultimately swung towards the militarst party now under the lead of the new prime minister Mir Jumla, whose unchallenged authority in Deccan politics, and present of matchless diamonds, rubies, and topazes to the Emperor, brought about the downfall of the peace-party under Dara.[1]

Shah Jahan sanctioned a "wholly unrighteous" war against Bijapur on 26th November, 1656, giving Aurangzib a free hand "to settle the affair of Bijapur as he thought fit". Aurangzib captured the

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1 History of Aurangzib ii 233.

strong fort of Bidar after a siege of 23 days only (29th March, 1657), and next laid siege to Kaliani which also surrendered on August 1, 1657.[1] The Mughal viceroy was reinforced by heavy contingents of imperial troops, and the fall of Bijapur itself seemed only a question of a few months. Six months after the outbreak of hostilities, when Aurangzib was in the full tide of success, the emperor suddenly cried halt, made a peace with Bijapur without consulting Aurangzib, and sent peremptory *farmans* to Mahabat Khan and Rao Satarsal Hada to return to the presence with all the Mughal and Rajput troops on active duty in the south without waiting for the formal leave of Aurangzib. The whole affair looked ominously mysterious, and was attributed as usual to the intrigue of Dara. Unfortunately at this point the official history of Waris comes to a close, and no original correspondence between the Crown Prince and Bijapur has yet come to light.

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[1] Ibid, p. 236, 237, 250.

Muhammad Salih Kambuh who wrote his *Amal-i-Salih* in Aurangzib's reign, asserts that Adil Shah, unable to make a stand against Aurangzib, sent an envoy Ibrahim Bichittar Khan to Prince Dara Shukoh, and through him sued for peace. Aqil Khan Razi, a protege of Aurangzib, says that the two imperial rescripts (*farmans*) to Mahabat Khan and Rao Satarsal Hada were written "*at the request*" of Dara Shukoh.[1] But this change of policy on the part of Shah Jahan is so decisive and stern, and of such grave import that Dara's influence, however great, cannot wholly account for it. In this affair the old Emperor seemed to have been swayed more by his dread of Aurangzib than by his love for Dara. Shah Jahan was ill at ease with Aurangzib in whom he saw the image of his own guilty self, the youthful Khurram, hold, astute, and unscrupulous, a rebel against his own father and the murderer of his eldest brother. He had

[1] Kambuh, 5 b; Aqil, 16.

an instinctive distrust of Aurangzib, and hence his vacillating, and sometimes unreasonably vexatious attitude towards the latter. There was a misgiving in his heart that Aurangzib might use the viceroyalty of the Deccan as a stepping-stone to the throne of Delhi, as he himself had done during the reign of Jahangir. A letter of Shah Jahan to Prince Shuja shows that the Emperor was at this time seriously contemplating the removal of Aurangzib from the Deccan. Before Shah Jahan could mature his plan against Aurangzib, he fell seriously ill on 6th September, 1657. The news of his illness, magnified into death by rumour, gave the signal for the commencement of the War of Succession.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR OF SUCCESSION

Section 1.—Dara's heresy and the Civil War

Islam never contemplated the rise of a hereditary monarchy within its polity, and therefore provided no definite law of succession to a kingdom of the faithful. On the other hand by refusing any religious sanction to the universal law of primogeniture it weakened the only safeguard, however frail, against the arbitration of the sword. Besides, rebellion had lost its odium and disgrace in the house of Timur, every number of which considered himself a Mirza,—a prince with the title to rule and to seize the heritage of every other. There was no check on the personal ambition of princes and usurpers in the Mughal empire as in every other Muslim State.

Some people are inclined to think that the civil war might have been

avoided if Shah Jahan had not followed the policy of drift as regards the education of his sons, each of whom developed a character and tendencies diametrically opposite to those of the others. Thus, Dara strayed into the bourn of infidelity, Shuja showed a leaning toward Shiasm, Aurangzib hardened into a bigoted Sunni, while Murad scoffed at every form of religion and delighted only in wine and slaughter. But the private character and religious views of the princes were not at all responsible for the civil war among them. It is absurd to hold that if all the four sons of Shah Jahan had grown up equally devout Musalmans, the general body of the faithful would have stood by the claim of the eldest prince against the pretensions of his brothers. Even if Dara had been as noble and pious as Ali himself, his brothers were sure to get from amongst Indian Musalmans more numerous followers than those led by Muawwiya against the son-in-law of the Prophet. The struggle between Dara and Aurangzib

was not really a trial of strength between Hinduism and Islam, though more Hindus fought on the side of the former, and more Musalmans on the side of the latter. If the triumph of Hinduism or of Islam had been the issue of the contest, the Sayyids of Barha would not have been the most faithful supporters of Dara, nor would Maharana Raj Singh have favoured the cause of Aurangzib. We shall elsewhere discuss whether Dara was an apostate, a heretic as alleged by his enemies. It is enough to say here that however he, like many more illustrious sons of Islam, might differ from the Mullas in the interpretation of the true spirit of the prophet's creed, he lived and died a Musalman.[1] It was not Dara's heresy but his lack of worldly wisdom and tact that drove most of the self-seeking courtiers, both Muslim and

1 Bernier, a hostile critic of Dara as he was, says "Born a Mahometan *he continued to join in the exercise of that religion*; but *although thus publicly professing his adherence to its faith*, Dara was in private a *Gentile* with *Gentiles*, and a Christian with Christians". (Constable's *Bernier and his Travels*, p. 6).

Hindu, into the ranks of his rival's supporters.

SECTION 2.—SHAH JAHAN'S PARTIALITY FOR DARA SHUKOH

Shah Jahan's partiality for Dara, a common theme with writers, native and foreign, friendly and hostile to him—is often alleged as one of the contributory causes of the rebellion of the younger princes against their father. The Crown Prince was looked upon by his younger brothers as the drone of the family, spoon-fed, swaddled in robes of honour and led about in state in the Emperor's suite. During the thirty years' reign of Shah Jahan, Dara had not been allowed to stay away from Court even for fifteen months. Though he had scarcely any achievement in arms to his credit, his military command finally rose to 60,000 *zat*, being greater than even the combined commands of all the younger princes—and the same partiality was shown towards the sons of Dara; Sulaiman Shukoh was the absentee viceroy of Kabul with a rank

of 12-*hazari*; even Sipihr Shukoh's rank (absentee governor of Thatta with the rank[1] of 8-*hazari*), was higher than that of the eldest sons of Shuja and Aurangzib. Shah Jahan gave away state jewels, horses, and elephants to Dara. He created more peers out of Dara's servants, and bestowed liberal patronage on Dara's spiritual guides, literary satellites, and musicians.[2]

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1 Shuja and Aurangzib were both 20-hazaris; their eldest sons Sultans Zainuddin and Muhammad being both 7-hazaris. For *mansab* of Princes see Waris, 123 B.

2 Kavindracharya Saraswati gets Rs. 1,500 at Lahor (7th Oct. 1651: Waris); Mulla Shah Badakhshi, Pir of Dara and Jahanara, given Rs. 5,000 on the completion of the fast of Ramzan (12th July, 1656; Waris 114 a); Chandrabhan Brahman honoured with the title of Rai (9th April, 1656, 108 b); Dara's poet, brother of his diwan Mulla Salih, gets Rs. 1,000, "for having strung together with deligence *a collection of the names of God in Hindawi*" (2nd May, 1655; Waris 98 b); musicians of Dara get Rs. 2,000 (31st March, 1655, Waris 98 a). As regards the ennobling of Dara's servants, Waris says "Among the servants of Shah Buland Iqbal Muhammad Dara Shukoh, five persons had already been created Khans; these were Bahadur Khan, deputy-nazim of the subah of Kabul (this person was 'Izzat Khan who on the 11th March, 1655, was given the higher title (?) Bahadur Khan), Sayyid Salabat Khan (son of Sayyid Hashim Barha), the deputy-nazim of the subah of Allahabad, Mutamaid Khan, Diwan of the Prince, Muhammad Ali Khan, the deputy-nazim of Thatta (Sindh), and Barqandaz Khan

Much, in this way, has been said of Shah Jahan's partiality to Dara. But could the impartiality of Shah Jahan avert bloodshed? Was it likely that equal share in the paternal affection as well as the patrimony would have kept back the princes from a contest for the throne? Shah Jahan followed the path which providence seemed to have chalked out for him, namely, to give the eldest-born his due, and by a happy accident the Heir-Apparent happened to be the most lovable of his children also. Hence, the Emperor acted throughout as the most loving and zealous friend and tutor of Dara, for whom he seemed to hold the empire of Hindustan as a sacred and inviolable trust. Once this position of

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(the notorious Jafar), the Chief of the Prince's Artillery. Besides the above mentioned persons, five more were on this day (14th July, 1656) ennobled; Abdullah Beg Najumsani was given the title of Askar Khan, Khwajah Muin, the city Magistrate of Lahor, given the title of Muin Khan, Sayyid Abdur Razzaq, the deputy-nazim of Multan, made Izzat Khan, Shaikh Daud, faujdar (on behalf of Dara Shukoh) of the country between Agra and Delhi—made Daud Khan, and another official Nahar Tamburi made Nahar Khan" (Waris, 166 a).

Shah Jahan is frankly realized, the charge of his having shown partiality to Dara at once falls to the ground. He did everything in an honest attempt to do justice to his destined heir, and impressing his younger sons and the rest of the world with the idea that it was as futile to envy and emulate Dara as to contend against fate. But the trouble arose because the younger princes, unable to reconcile themselves to their lot, plotted to feed fat the grudge they bore to their father and eldest brother. Also, Dara's incompetence encouraged every attempt to wrest the sceptre from his weak grasp.

SECTION 3.—RELATIONS BETWEEN DARA AND AURANGZIB.

The enmity between Dara and Aurangzib since the very beginning of their careers was no doubt one of the causes of the War of Succession. Aurangzib is represented by his bigoted advocates as an apostle of forbearance, a miserable victim of the malicious intrigues of Dara, whose jealousy and hatred of his younger brothers were, it is alleged,

only proportionate to their ability. But it appears clear from recorded history that it was Aurangzib who first revealed the blackness of his heart by the open display of spite and venom against Dara. We shall briefly review the main incidents throwing light on the relations between two brothers before the out-break of the War of Succession.

1. On 28th May, 1633, two elephants Sudhakar and Surat-sundar were set to fight on the sandy plain of the Jamuna below the Agra fort. Mounted on horses Dara, Shuja, and Aurangzib pushed closer to the elephant Sudhakar; the enraged animal after having put his opponent to flight, turned upon the horse of Aurangzib and flung it down. Young Aurangzib, a lad of fifteen, showed wonderful bravery and resourcefulness, and succoured by Shuja and Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, came out safe and victorious from the encounter. On this occasion, Aurangzib not only gave a "foretaste of his lofty spirit and royal contempt for death", but also of his unbrotherly feelings by a

malicious fling at Dara; "If the fight had ended fatally for me", he said to his father, "it would not have been a matter of shame. . . . . *The shame lay in what my brothers did*". These are the very words which a devoted partisan of Aurangzib Hamiduddin Khan puts appropriately in his master's mouth. One cannot but admire the courtesy and cleverness in this insinuation, using a plural number while he clearly meant a single person, namely, Dara. Dara was at some distance on the other side of the elephant, and "could not even if he had wished it, have come to Aurangzib's aid, as the affair was over in a few minutes".[1]

2. As he was the first to strike the note of suspicion and envy against Dara, so he was the first to offend his father and merit public censure, because "misled by the wicked counsels of his foolish companions, he wanted to take to the retired life of an ascetic, and had also done some acts which the Emperor disapproved of"[2]

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1 History of Aurangzib, i and ii, p. 10.

2 *Pad.*, ii. 373.

(1644 A.D.). Hamiduddin clears up this obscure statement by an anecdote, suggesting that the prince's disgrace was the outcome of his open jealousy of Dara Shukoh. "It is narrated that Dara invited his father and three younger brothers to see his newly-built mansion at Agra. It was summer, and the party was taken to a cool underground room bordering on the river, with only one door leading into it. The others entered, but Aurangzib sat down in the door way. To all inquiries of Shah Jahan about the reason of his strange conduct he gave no reply. For this act of disobedience he was forbidden the Court. After spending seven months in disgrace, he told Jahanara that as the room had only one entrance he had feared lest Dara should close it and murder his father and brothers to clear his own way to the throne. To prevent any such attempt Aurangzib had (he said) occupied the door as a sentinel".[1] Whatever might be the element of truth in this anecdote,

[1] History of Aurangzib, i. and ii. p. 69

none can doubt that it reveals Aurangzib as the future murderer of his brothers and gaoler of his father, and had Aurangzib got his father and brothers in such a trap he would perhaps have done what did not strike Dara's mind at all.

3. During Aurangzib's governorship of Multan and Sindh (1648-1652) some unpleasant things took place over the affair of Ismail Hut, a predatory Baloch chieftain whose territories were situated on the border land between Multan and Upper Punjab. Ismail Hut was a protege of Dara and claimed to be a subject of the governor of Lahor. He refused to wait upon Aurangzib, the newly appointed governor of Multan, producing a letter of Dara as a plea (*navishtah-i-Dada-bhai-ra dastawiz sakhta*). It was only a dispute of jurisdiction between two viceroys of contiguous provinces—a dispute which the Emperor justly decided in favour of Aurangzib. In 1652 the province of Multan was added to the viceroyalty of Dara, who after taking charge of that province wrote to the Emperor that the

servants of Aurangzib had destroyed many buildings in the city of Multan and burnt and sold away the timber and doors. However, Aurangzib effectively replied to this charge, referring in support of his defence to a report of the news-writer of Multan, from which it was apparent that *after the departure* of Aurangzib's servants, the people of the city, took courage to commit such depradations. Whatever might have been the faults of Aurangzib, he was certainly above such petty acts of vandalism, and too severe a master to tolerate such things in his officials. A more regrettable incident happened when Aurangzib, on his way to the Deccan, alighted in the neighbourhood of Lahor. Dara's official in charge of Lahor came out of the city as if to welcome Aurangzib; but strangely enough he rode past the encampment of the prince and re-entered the city without visiting him. This was a gratuitous insult tending to lower the prince in the public eye. But Aurangzib certainly did injustice to Dara in suspecting that Dara's

servant had insulted him at his master's bidding; because Dara was at this time staying with the Emperor at Kabul. This awkward behaviour of Dara's servant was apparently due to indicision whether he could go to welcome the prince as required by official etiquette without rousing the suspicion of his own master. Nevertheless, the mischief was done; and the bad manners of the servant certainly brought odium upon the master.

4. No two men perhaps differed more widely in personal character, tastes, and religious outlook than did Dara Shukoh and Aurangzib. They somewhat resembled in their character and in the vehemence of their hatred towards one another their English contemporaries, the cavaliers and the roundheads. Dara's religious motto was that of Akbar, namely, "Peace with all' (*Sulh-i-kul*) and as such, we may say, his religion was "the parent of arts and letters, of wholesome knowledge, of innocent pleasures",—in short, a religion of the cultured salon; whereas the creed of Aurangzib partook of the

austere gloom of the guardroom of God's soldiers, tolerating nothing useless from a rough soldier's point of view, discarding every pleasure soft and alluring, sparing neither themselves nor others in a fight for God's sake. Dara, though much given to study and spiritual contemplation, seemed to the outer world equally devoted to pleasure, a prince profuse, gay and brilliant, and above all with a soft heart ready to do any gracious service for a little flattery. Aurangzib was essentially "a man without music", always cold, sedate, grave, and demure, with religious gloom upon a pale and sickly countenance; and like Macaulay's Italian type of the tyrant, he was "of sober diet, as constant at prayers as a priest, and as heedless of oaths as an atheist".

Dara called in derision his younger brother, a prayer-loving Mulla (*namazi*); and taunted him as a hypocrite, while the latter returned the compliment by calling him a *Kafir*, a *Mulhid*, (polytheist). Some orthodox apologists of Aurangzib assert that by using these epithets for

Dara, Aurangzib only echoed the sentiment of the age, the sentiment of the majority of the 17th century Musalmans of Hindustan. In their public lives Dara was looked upon as the patron of the Hindus, and Aurangzib as the champion of Islam. Dara's first great public act seems to have been the use of his influence in securing the remission of the pilgrim-tax in Allahabad and Benares. We are told that a Hindu deputation headed by the famous Maratha scholar Kavindracharya[1] Saraswati, waited on the Emperor and pleaded their case so eloquently as to draw tears from the eyes of Dara and Shah Jahan. With the progress of his studies in Hindu philosophy and his association with Hindu *sannyasis* and *yogis* his intellectual sympathy for Hindus developed into active interest for their welfare.

Aurangzib showed himself a militant

1 On this occasion the Emperor conferred upon the eloquent and versatile scholar the title of *Sarvavidyā-nidhān* (সর্ব্ববিদ্যা নিধান). Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. XVII, p. iv—v.

missionary of Islam with genuine contempt for other faiths, which grew in intensity with his growing years. During his governorship of Gujrat, he destroyed the ancient temple of Chintaman and vented his fanatical fury by killing cows there. He also forbade the export of saltpetre from Gujrat to Europe, because the young and imaginative Pan-Islamist was afraid lest the Christians should use it as ammunition of war for killing devout Sunnis like the Ottoman Turks. However, these actions of Aurangzib were not approved by Shah Jahan; the temple, it is reported, was afterwards restored to the Hindus. During his second viceroyalty of the Deccan he destroyed the temple of Khande Rai on the Satara Hill (near Aurangabad).

In his anxiety to back his friends, Aurangzib did not hesitate to use his influence at court to shut the road of justice to Hindus seeking redress of their grievances. The following is a typical example of his early anti-Hindu bias; as revealed in a letter written to his ally

Sadullah Khan: "A Brahmin named Chhabila, the qunango of property-tax of the city of Bihar had uttered improper words with reference to the holy Prophet. After investigation and verification of the charge by order of the Emperor, Zulfiqar Khan and other officers of the place had sent him to hell by beheading him, as was required by justice, and purified the place defiled for a long time by his impure existence. I hope you are aware of these facts.

Now Mulla Mohan,[1] whose relations with me are not unknown to you—has written to me that the brothers of that accursed misbeliever out of obstinacy and bigotry (*taasub*) have complained at the imperial court against Shaikh Muhammad Maula (*Maali?*), Mir Adil, a brother's son

1 "His real name is Muhiuddin; born in Bihar, he committed the Quran to memory at the age of nine . . . entered the service of the Emperor Shah Jahan and was appointed tutor to Prince Aurangzib . . . . became a disciple of Shah Haidar, grandson of Shaikh Wajudddin Gujrati . . . . resigned his service and returned to Bihar. He died in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) at the age of 84 years (Ghulam Ali Azad's *Maasir-ul-Kiram*, p. 43).

of the above mentioned *i.e.*, Mulla Mohan, and Abdul Maani, the *Mufti* of the province of Bihar. So I write this to remind you of this affair. As it is proper for and obligatory upon all Muslims to do their utmost to assert the religion of the Prophet, and it is the duty of Kings and nobles to protect the theologians (*Ulema*) of Islam in enforcing the injunctions of the holy Law, you should exert yourself more than your peers to close the door of complaint of this wretched tribe to the Emperor's feet and to take care of the letters (*i.e.*, explanations) of the guardians of the Faith" (*Adab.* 101 a). The whole affair looks suspicious; because had there been no irregularities, no genuine grievance, the Hindus would not have courted danger by carrying their appeal to an orthodox Muslim Emperor against the powerful local Muslim functionaries who were not known for their qualities of mercy and forbearance. Aurangzib interfered not for seeing justice done unto Muslims but to close the very door of justice to the Hindus. Why did the

Ulemas shrink from standing a scrutiny of their judgment even by Shah Jahan who had the destruction of several big temples and the forcible conversion of some Hindus to his credit? Nevertheless, Aurangzib made less enemies among the Hindus than Dara did among the bigoted Muslims, because Aurangzib's heart unlike Dara's, was never on his lips nor very often on the point of his pen.

SECTION 4.—COALITION OF SHUJA, AURANGZIB, AND MURAD.

The three younger princes, drawn together by common enmity to Dara, had formed an informal defensive alliance that grew stronger with the growing partiality of Shah Jahan for his eldest son. Aurangzib was the soul of this confederacy and the connecting link between Shuja and Murad. In December, 1652 Shuja and Aurangzib, contrary to their father's wish, had met at Agra and each of them had entertained the other for three days, and the alliance was further

cemented by the betrothal of Gulrukh Banu, a daughter of Shuja to Aurangzib's eldest son Sultan Muhammad. Murad Bakhsh saw Aurangzib at Do-rahah during the latter's progress through the province of Malwa (23rd December, 1652). Since then a brisk correspondence passed among the confederates through Aurangzib's province and with Aurangzib as a sort of secretary to the coalition. Shah Jahan never took his youngest son Murad Bakhsh[1] very seriously; but he greatly suspected the matrimonial alliance between Shuja and Aurangzib. The bitter correspondence between Shah Jahan and Aurangzib over Sultan Muhammad's betrothal, leaves no doubt in our mind that Shah Jahan gave to Aurangzib as

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1 Shah Jahan is once said to have remarked that Murad Bakhsh cared only for "the nourishment of his body" (*tan-parwari*). This was however not the whole truth about Murad Bakhsh. He was in character a typical central Asian Turk somewhat deficient in judgment and address, but endowed with great animal courage and bodily strength, always bragging, *az man kase Bahadur nist;* i.e., there is none braver than I. Murad Bakhsh is regarded as "the black sheep" of the royal family. He proved a failure in every work entrusted to him.

clear and emphatic a hint as decency would permit that he would be glad to see the betrothal set aside. Shah Jahan also tried to win over Shuja by taking him into his favour and confidence against Aurangzib. He complained to Shuja of Aurangzib's administration as a failure in the South, and offered him the viceroyalty of the five Deccan *subahs* if the prince would like to have them in exchange of Bengal and Orissa.

Towards the middle of December, 1657 Murad wrote to Aurangzib a letter which was supplemented by an oral message of a more secret nature delivered by his trusty agent. By a strange coincidence Aurangzib also about the same time had written to Murad a letter of similar purport supplemented by a similar oral message sent through a confidential messenger. About a month before (19th October, 1657), Murad had despatched another letter to Shuja through Aurangzib's province. The object of this secret correspondence was to concert measures for meeting the critical situation created

by the illness of their father and the alleged usurpation of Dara. Thus, through the initiative of the impatient Murad their defensive alliance was turned into an offensive one ostensibly against their usurping eldest brother. The first act of the confederates was to establish a chain of postal relays linking Ahmadabad, Aurangabad, and Rajmahal for the rapid transmission of news. As soon as the news of Shah Jahan's illness reached Aurangzib, he took most vigorous measures to cut off communications between Dara and his allies and partisans south of the river Narmada. While Aurangzib successfully kept the imperial court quite in the dark about his designs and movements, he received reports of the state secrets at the capital and the measures of Dara from his sister Raushanara Begam. Even Gauharara, the youngest child of Shah Jahan, had her ambitions, and she kept Murad regularly informed of the activities at Court. Besides, Aurangzib had posted in every part of Northern India numerous secret

agents who smuggled urgent news across the Narmada to him.

Apart from a general agreement among the three younger princes, there was a closer pact between Aurangzib and Murad who looked upon Shuja as their prospective enemy. As early as 23rd October, 1657, Aurangzib supplied to Murad the key to a cypher to be used in their future correspondence. While Aurangzib openly condemned Dara as a heretic and an idol-worshipper, he secretly denounced Shuja as a rafizy or heretical Shia to his foolish colleague Murad, whom he flattered as most worthy of rule and for whose sake he professed to be exerting himself. But in order to deserve the throne Murad, notorious for his irreligion, was advised to pose in public as an orthodox Sunni and a champion of Islam. "Indeed so wholly did Murad enter into Aurangzib's policy of throwing a religious cloak on their war of personal ambition, that his letters assume a sanctimonious tone calculated to raise a smile. . . . . Taking a hint

from Aurangzib, the gay reveller of Ahmadabad poses as the champion of Islam; he threatens Dara with extirpation as the enemy of the holy faith; he refers to his eldest brother as the *Mulhid*—the very term used by Aurangzib and his court-historians" (*History of Aurangzib*, i., p. 302).

However, Murad had some suspicion whether his *Pir* (guide) in politics was not acting towards him on the very same formula of "dissimulation" against God and man. He pressed Aurangzib to send him a solemn deed of agreement stating explicitly the terms of the partnership between them. Just before their march to Northern India Aurangzib, in order to lull the rising suspicion of Murad, sent him an *ahad-nama* to the effect that after the overthrow of the infidel Dara, Murad should get the provinces of the Punjab, Sindh, Kashmir, and Afghanistan. This document concluded with the pious words ". . . . . . I shall without the least delay give you leave to go to this territory. As

to the truth of this desire, I take *God, and the Prophet* as my witnesses:"

SECTION 5.—THE ILLNESS OF SHAH JAHAN (September, 1657).

Shah Jahan, whose health had shown signs of a decline during the summer of 1657, fell seriously ill on 6th September, and for seven days nobody except Dara and a few high officials in his confidence had access to the ailing Emperor. He was given up for dead by all but a few well-wishers of Dara; many persons refused to believe that he was still alive even when on 14th September he showed his face through the window of his bed-chamber to the expectant crowd below. To re-assure the people, a *darbar* was held, and Dara who "had nursed his father to the utmost limit of possibility (which was the best form of the worship of God)," was rewarded with an increase of *mansab* by 10,000 zat, 10,000 horse *do aspah seh-aspah,* in all 50,000 zat, and an *inam* of two and a half lakhs of rupees. Calling to his presence some confidential courtiers

and the chief officers of the State, he made his last will before them, and ordered them to obey Dara henceforth as their sovereign in every thing, at all times, and in every place" (Kambuh 8 b). On 18th October the Emperor left for Agra to recoup his health. Meanwhile, mischief had done its work. The younger princes, who were at heart disappointed at the news of their father's recovery, refused in public to believe the inconvenient truth that Shah Jahan was really alive. They suspected every despatch from Court to be either a forgery or one written under the pressure of Dara. They pretended to give credence to the malicious rumour that the lean figure that now appeared daily at the palace window to receive the salute of the people was only an old eunuch dressed in the imperial robes whom the usurper Dara was passing for the deceased Shah Jahan. They began a false and most pernicious propaganda against Dara,[1] who, they alleged, had

1 The worst and most absurd allegations against Dara may be read in the pages of Bernier (Constable's Bernier and his

usurped supreme power and made their father a helpless prisoner. They would not even be dissuaded by the letters of Jahanara, who tried to bring about a peace among her brothers. As they were prepared for war and Dara was not, they were unwilling to let slip this opportunity of crushing their hated rival once for all. The unhappy Emperor saw with consternation the dreaded deluge coming not after him but even before his eyes were closed.

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travels, p. 25-26). His source of information being his *Agha*, Danishmand Khan, a notorious partisan of Aurangzib, the account given by him is only a bundle of falsehoods and malicious libels which does not deserve even a refutation.

CHAPTER IX.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE THRONE

SECTION 1. SULAIMAN SHUKOH'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST SHAH SHUJA (DECEMBER, 1657—MAY, 1658)

Prince Muhammad Shuja, only thirteen months younger than Dara Shukoh, was a faithful copy of his loving grand-father Jahangir with whom he had lived till the age of twelve. Sharp in intellect, indolent by nature, and voluptuous in habits, Shuja was every inch a prince in outward and inward graces, and and with all his faults an eminently lovable character like his grandfather. Among the sons of Shah Jahan he perhaps represents, in mental and moral equilibrium as well as in tastes and predilections, a happy mean between Dara and Aurangzib,—being a skilful soldier and level-headed politician with that fine touch of human sympathy which

Aurangzib lacked so sadly. But his talents and abilities shone only in flashes, while his weaknesses clung about him more steadfastly. Shuja's love of ease and enjoyment of the refined pleasures of life had no doubt marred his fine capabilities to some extent. But no one can take seriously on the authority of Aurangzib the alleged remark of Shah Jahan that Shuja possessed no other quality than enjoying life (*juz sayar-chashmi sifate na-darad*).[1] Bengal, the nursery of Shuja's ambition, became also the tomb of his energy. During his seventeen years of uninterrupted vice-royalty there, Shah Shuja and his associates had almost been recast both in body and mind in the softer mould of Bengal, and their swords had grown rusty in their scabbards for want of enterprise and action in that land of peace, plenty, and pestilence. There the Prince had drunk the cup of pleasure almost to its lees and as a result thereof "small things like the

[1] Letter of Aurangzib, F 38 a.

Chameli flower escaped his eyes" even at fortyone.[1]

Shuja was staying in his provincial capital, Rajmahal, when the news of Shah Jahan's illness, magnified by rumour into actual death, reached him. He at once crowned himself, and as his preparations had been almost completed beforehand, the Bengal troops soon entered the province of Bihar, co-ordinating their march with their war-boats sailing up the river Ganges. Pressed hard by Dara, the old Emperor very reluctantly consented to send an army against Shuja, as he laboured under the delusion that his *farmans* (mandates) would be enough to

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1 Bernier's estimate of Shuja's character is substantially accurate :—"Sultan Shujah . . . . resembled in many characteristic traits of character his brother Dara; but he was more discreet, firmer of purpose, and excelled him in conduct and address. He was sufficiently dexterous in the management of an intrigue, and by means of repeated largesses bestowed secretly, he knew how to acquire the friendship of great Omrahs . . . . such as Jessomseingue (Sic. not Jaswant Singh but Mirza Rajah Jai Singh). He was, nevertheless, too much a slave to his pleasures; and once surrounded by his women, who were exceedingly numerous, he would pass whole days and nights in dancing, singing, and drinking wine". (Bernier's Travels, Constable, p. 8).

overawe the rebellious princes. However, in the last week of December, 1657, Prince Sulaiman Shukoh was appointed to the command of an army 22,000 strong, with Mirza Rajah Jai Singh as his guardian and chief adviser. The Emperor looked upon this expedition as little more than a holiday parade for Sulaiman; but the heart of Dara had its own misgivings; he deputed all his most faithful and able household officers to serve under his son on this distant campaign—an ill-advised act of impulse without foresight.

In high spirits Sulaiman Shukoh pushed towards Benares by continued marches, urging his old guardian to join him without delay.[1] But the enthusiasm of the officers of the imperial contingent was not so keen, because the Emperor had at the time of their departure appealed to them to avert bloodshed if Shuja could be persuaded to retire peacefully from Bihar. Dara was eager for swift and decisive action, but that was far from the wish of

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1 Jaipur Records, Vide Pers. text, p. 53.

the Emperor who trembled for the life of his rebellious son. Thus the soldiers who went to fight did not know whom to please, and therefore they could have no singleness of purpose. A cautious politician, Mirza Rajah suspected that Dara might possibly in the Emperor's name but without his approval and behind his back, dictate to the officers serving against Shuja a line of action which was likely to compromise their position seriously with their master. So, he left at court his son Ram Singh as his *vakil*, who should directly report to him the Emperor's instructions. Soon after the march of the imperial army Shuja wrote to his father and eldest brother offering hollow excuses for his action, and asking for the grant of Mungir, which formed a part of Dara's province of Bihar. Dara was "prepared to give away to brother Shuja the fort of Mungir, provided that he agreed to dismantle the fortress and that he and his sons did not reside there."[1] Inspite of this reasonable offer of the Crown Prince,

[1] Jaipur Records, vide Pers. text, p. 54.

and the Emperor's affectionate pardon of his faults, Shuja continued his hostile advance and invaded the province of Allahabad. Shah Jahan was now sadly disillusioned about the real motives of his younger sons who, he now found, were in league to crush Dara, and bent on fighting for the throne before his very eyes. The wrath of the old Emperor flared up, and his embittered feelings were communicated to Mirza Rajah in a letter in which Dara writes, "His Majesty desires very much that the severed head of that unmannerly (*be-adab*) wretch should be brought to him. . . . ." We might totally disbelieve it as an unscrupulous lie invented by Dara had it not been said in public to Ram Singh, as we learn from a subsequent letter,—"With his own holy tongue the Emperor said to Kunwar Ram Singh;—'Write to your father that I want the head of that unmannerly and worthless wretch . . . . . . I hope the *Kunwar has certainly written these words to you.*"[1]

1 Jaipur Records, vide Pers. text, pp. 66, 71.

Dara exhausted his store of complimentary phrases and powers of persuasion supplemented by the happy auguries of dreams, revelations, and astrological forecasts in humouring Mirza Rajah Jai Singh. "With the tongue of divine inspiration", writes the Prince, "His Majesty said that as Rajah Man Singh had conquered and crushed Mirza Hakim, God willing, Mirza Rajah will crush this unmannerly and luckless wretch."[1] The very next day Dara communicates to him more favourable predictions of the Rajah's success. "Through vision (sufistic), and from books of astrology (*Kutb-i-najum*) I learn what by divine guidance I firmly believe to be true, that this great victory will be achieved by that worthiest of the worthy."[2] Nevertheless, Mirza Rajah remained as stiff and coldly formal as before, and his conduct even gave rise to suspicions which were reported to Court by Sulaiman Shukoh. But the Emperor and the Crown Prince

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1 Vide Pers. text, p. 64.

2 Vide Pers. text, p. 137.

took Sulaiman to task, and as a proof of their own confidence in the Rajah, Dara wrote to him, "His Majesty suspects that this must have been written out of enmity. Therefore my son has been directed to have in future the despatchs of news from that quarter written by the great Rajah himself, so that His Majesty could accept them as accurate and authentic."[1]

Prince Sulaiman Shukoh, a brilliant and energetic youth of 22, though studiously courteous to his guardian, could not be expected to cling to the apron-strings of Jai Singh. He asserted his position as commander-in-chief of the expeditionary forces and by his dash and optimism made up for the lack of enthusiasm and sincerity on the part of his colleagues. By a forced march of two weeks he reached Benares with his division and halted in that city for three days. A bridge of boats was constructed over the Ganges in twenty-four hours, and immediately afterwards the prince crossed

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[1] Vide Pers. text, p. 61.

over to the other side. There had been a race for Benares between the uncle and the nephew, because the progress of the imperial army would have been brought to an indefinite halt at Benares if Shuja could hold in strength the other bank of the Ganges along which ran the great military road *via* Chunar to Patna and Rajmahal. Sulaiman encamped for a week at Bahadurpur, a village two miles east of the right-bank head of the Railway Bridge at Benares. Here the brave and faithful Ruhela chief Dilir Khan, the faujdar of Qanauj, joined the imperial army and infused a new vigour and confidence among the rank and file.

Meanwhile, Shuja with his army and fleet had reached the neighbourhood (25th January, 1658), and encamped on a well-chosen site inaccessible on account of numerous *nullas* and thick jungles in front and the river Ganges in the rear, which was commanded by his war-boats. The problem that now confronted the imperialists was to force a pitched battle

on the rebel army which could not be starved out of their strong position as they procured their supplies by river. Sulaiman became impatient as urgent despatches came from Court to finish the war on that front. Mirza Rajah had not matured any definite plan of action and could see no other alternative than standing on the defensive. A local Rajput chief named Goklat (Gokul?) Ujjaniya [*i.e.*, of the Dumraon Zamindar family] was tempted with the offer of a *mansab* to employ his men in cutting the jungle and stopping the supplies of the enemy—a tedious and futile effort which amounted to a surrender to Shuja's waiting game. It is, however, interesting to read that even after the disastrous Qandahar campaign the Crown Prince had not become more modest in the estimate of his own ability as a soldier, and offered at this juncture to teach his own trade to Mirza Rajah to whom he wrote,[1] "If you have not decided upon anything, make it clear to me so that from this place I may

[1] Vide Pers. text, p. 69.

suggest some plan and send instructions as to what should be done. At present, you should urge Gokul Ujjaniya, the zamindar of that place, to send his footmen and soldiers in all directions, and close the roads of supplies and grain to the enemy, and a similar force should be sent over to the Benares side for carrying on an irregular fight, and closing the enemy's roads for the supply of foodstuff . . . . . ." The next letter of Dara conveyed positive orders of immediate action and an attack on the enemy's jungle-clad encampment by placing the artillery in front.

Well-provisioned by their boats and immune from attack, the troops of Shuja had been lulled into a careless repose in their camp after a few days of alarm and vigilance. Inaccessible to man and mosquito alike, Shah Shuja was in the habit of sleeping till noon (*do-pahar*). His officers also, who had not perhaps forgotten to bring their own mosquito-curtains (*pashsha-khana*), slept as comfortably if not as late as their master. There

were the usual military pickets and night watches, but no officers to go the rounds to keep the sentries alert. Shuja's patrols, strangers to alarms, and unaccustomed to the cold of the chilly midwinter nights of Upper India, could hardly be expected to be dutiful and vigilant. This could not long be cancealed from the spies of Sulaiman.

During the night preceding 14th February, 1658 the imperial army was ordered to be ready for striking their tents and marching to a new site chosen for encampment. Early in the morning, Sulaiman rode out at the head of a choice body of mail-clad horsemen, and suddenly fell upon the sleeping troops of Shuja. The half-awakened Bengal soldiers ran for life in all directions. Shuja hastily mounted an elephant and began to shout for his captains and men, most of whom had already fled. Shuja was no coward in the face of danger, but the odds were heavy against him. Prince Sulaiman and Dilir Khan Ruhela were the first to engage Shuja, and soon afterwards Mirza Rajah

Jai Singh, and Rajah Anirudh Gaur closed upon the elephant of Shuja which had been slashed in the leg by an intrepid imperialist. The plucky *mahut* drove the animal furiously in the direction of the fleet and thus saved Shuja from imminent capture. The victory of the imperialists was complete; the rest being butchery and loot. The fleet, without heeding the cries of their own fugitives, glided away downstream leaving their helpless brethren between the devil and the deep water. A booty worth two krores of rupees fell into the hands of the imperialists.

Two nobles, Fazil Khan and Fākhir Khan, brought this happy news to the Emperor on Saturday, 20th March, 1658, and the very next day a gazette of promotions and rewards to the victors of Bahadurpur was issued. Though the victory was due to the bold initiative of Sulaiman Shukoh, the Emperor and the Crown Prince judiciously ascribed the whole credit of it to Mirza Rajah who was now created a 7-hazari. In a letter

beginning with the vedantic formula "Satchidanand" Dara in his habitual vein of hyperbole writes, "You have achieved what even Rajah Man Singh could not have accomplished. . . . . Within the last 100 years such a victory was vouchsafed to none else".[1] But dark suspicions still lingered in the heart of the Rajah, who complained in a letter that the Emperor had given his ears to a malicious accusation of some person to the effect that the Rajah had wilfully let Shah Shuja escape from the field of battle. The Emperor writes, ". . . . . None intimated any such thing to me. My confidence in the loyalty of the Rajah is so great that nobody can have the hardihood to say any such thing to me . . . . ."[2]

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1 Letter No. 17, Pers. text, p. 77.

2 *Farman*, dated 4, Farawardin, vide Pers. text, p. 85-86. That there was a widely circulated story of Jai Singh's treachery is borne out by the following words of Bernier: "But all the efforts of Jai Singh to prevent a battle (at Bahadurpur) proved abortive. . . . . It is certain that if Jai Singh and his bosom friend Delil Khan (Dilir Khan), a pathan and an excellent soldier, had not purposely held back, the rout of the enemy would have been complete, and their commander probably made prisoner. *But the Rajah was too prudent* to lay his

The circumstances of the hair-breadth escape of Shuja lent support to the suspicion of collusion on the part of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, who was afterwards known to have acted on the proverbial dictum of hunting with the hounds and running with the hare. At any rate the fruits of the victory achieved by the bold initiative and exertion of Sulaiman Shukoh were lost through the strange dilatoriness of Jai Singh. Shuja reached Patna in five days, while Mirza Rajah took twenty days to arrive there. Sulaiman could not move alone as the country was unknown and long in the occupation of the enemy. Shah Jahan justly made a reflection on the conduct of the Rajah in a *farman*, saying that the imperial army ought to have arrived at Patna in ten days, and had the Rajah done so, Shuja could not have carried off

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hands on a Prince of the Blood . . . . he acted conformably to the Mogal's intentions when *he afforded Sultan Shuja means of escape*". (Constable's Bernier, p. 35-36) Bernier was not likely to know that Shah Jahan had changed his mind, and this connivance on the part of the Rajah was a piece of treachery.

his wealth from that city and made himself secure in Mungir.[1] Shuja made a stand at Surajgarh, 15 miles south-west of Mungir, till the end of March, 1658. The imperial army turned his flank by a tardy march through the wooded broken ground *via* Jitpur, and occupied city of Surajgarh evacuated by the enemy. Further east their progress was arrested by a newly built wall across the narrow plain between the Kharagpur hills and the river Ganges. Had Jai Singh shown half as much zeal and generalship in the pursuit of Shuja, as he afterwards displayed in chasing the fugitive Dara through the Rann of Cutch, the issue of the War of Succession would have been totally reversed. While Mirza Rajah, in spite of most urgent appeals to finish the war with Shuja, was sitting down idly before the fortifications of Mungir, Aurangzib and Murad had united their troops and inflicted a disastrous defeat on Maharajah Jaswant Singh at Dharmat

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

(15th April, 1658). When the news of this defeat reached the imperial army at Surajgarh, Mirza Rajah was jubilant at the overthrow of his hated rival Jaswant, and perhaps congratulated himself on being fully revenged on him and his friend and patron, Dara Shukoh. The Emperor wrote to him to conclude peace with Shuja at once, and come back to Agra with all the Rajputs, leaving in Bihar Sulaiman Shukoh with the household troops of Dara. The Rajah wasted several days in holding leisurely peace-talk and entertaining Mirza Jan Beg, the plenipotentiary of Shuja with princely hospitality. A peace of *status quo* was concluded and the treaty was formally signed on May 7, 1658.

At last, the army of Sulaiman Shukoh began their westward march, and if Mirza Rajah and Sulaiman had ridden hard with light kit only—as they were repeatedly asked to do—they could have yet reached Agra in time to take part in the battle of Samugarh, fought on May 29, 1658. But Jai Singh, who was a

traitor at heart, would not exert himself to save Dara, and Sulaiman, hampered by confusion and disloyalty in his camp, could not leave Mirza Rajah behind without risking the dissolution of his whole army. Sulaiman, who was still marching several stages ahead, arrived only as far as Korah, 105 miles west of Allahabad, when the fatal news of Samugarh greeted the ears of the ill-disguised traitors. Mirza Rajah now threw off his mask and prepared to march away to Agra leaving poor Sulaiman to his fate. This desertion of the Kachchwah Chief might have been excused as an act prompted by the instinct of self-preservation, had he not exerted himself shamefully to seduce others also from loyalty to the unfortunate Dara. Dilir Khan Ruhela was prepared to accompany Sulaiman Shukoh if the prince would go to Shahjahanpur and trust himself to the loyalty of the Ruhelas. Sulaiman accordingly ordered a retreat to Allahabad on June 4, 1658. But meanwhile Mirza Rajah, now an active partisan of Aurangzib, succeeded

in convincing the Ruhela chief of the folly of staking his all for a sentiment, and exhorted him to quit the sinking wreck. With this act of Rajah Jai Singh opens that tale of treachery which culminated in the betrayal of Dara by Malik Jiwan. The fate of Sulaiman we shall record elsewhere.

Section 2. The Battles of Dharmat and Samugarh

Dara had built high hopes on Maharajah Jaswant Singh, who, along with Qasim Khan had been sent to Malwa in the last week of December, 1657 with instructions to hold the line of the Narmada against Aurangzib, and prevent him from forming a junction with the army of Murad. But the Rathor chief was only a novice in the art of war in comparison with Aurangzib, who to the utter dismay of the imperialists, formed a junction with Murad's army on the 14th April in the neighbourhood of Dharmat, only 14 miles southwest of Ujjain. Next morning a four hours' fight took place at Dharmat (15th April, 1658)

in which Jaswant's inexperience, lukewarmness of the Sisodia and Bundela contingents, and the treachery of the Muslim division of the imperial army under Qasim Khan gave a decisive victory to Aurangzib and Murad. Only with a remnant of his Rathor clansmen Jaswant fled to Jodhpur, where the crestfallen knight is said to have been refused reception by his proud and sensitive Sisodia queen. Dharmat meant a double catastrophe for Dara, who apart from losing a battle in Malwa, lost along with it all the fruits of Sulaiman Shukoh's victory over Shuja at Bahadurpur. His enemies raised their heads on all sides, traitors threw off their masks, and even friends began to waver in his cause.

BATTLE OF SAMUGARH, 29 MAY, 1658.

The disastrous news of the battle of Dharmat reached Dara on 25th April at Balochpur on his journey to Delhi with the Emperor. The court immediately turned back to Agra, and preparations were made in haste to meet the crisis.

The Emperor threw open the imperial treasury and arsenal to Dara for equipping another army to retrieve his fortune. Dara now sorely felt the absence of his ablest and most trustworthy household officers whom he had deputed to serve under his son Sulaiman. But Shah Jahan was in a distracted state of mind, now advising Dara on military affairs and writing to Jai Singh to come with all haste, now listening to sinister counsels of peace suggested by the treacherous nobles in Aurangzib's interests. The Emperor still hoped to turn back Aurangzib and Murad by diplomatic messages; so he urged Dara to avoid war. Dara was perfectly right in holding that under the present circumstances there was no alternative to a vigorous prosecution of war. But his passions often got the better of his discretion, and he is said to have taunted those who advised peace as faithless cowards, and added sting to the insult by telling them that Rao Satarsal Hada and Barqandaz Khan (the notorious Jafar) would drive the rebels

back like hares to the south of the Narmada.

The plan of campaign outlined by Dara was to hold in strength the line of the Chambal, prevent Aurangzib from crossing at any of the fords of that river, and put off any decisive action till the arrival of Sulaiman Shukoh's army from Bihar. Accordingly, he sent the advanced division of his army to Dholpur with instructions to guard the ferries of the Chambal and erect batteries and earthworks at strategic points. If he had organised a single flying column under some dashing and active officer like Rustam Khan Bahadur or Rao Satarsal Hada to watch the movements of the enemy along the whole line of the Chambal, no plan of campaign would have been more effective in checking the progress of Aurangzib.

The Crown Prince took leave of the Emperor on 18th May to start for Dholpur with the main army. It was a most pathetic scene as the old Emperor for the last time bestowed gifts and blessings on

his beloved son with trembling hands, and held him long and tightly to his bosom in a parting embrace. At last Shah Jahan lifted his arms and turning towards Mecca prayed for Dara's victory and recited the *fatiha* (the prescribed Quranic verses of victory). Nor was the orthodox Hindu tradition omitted. Dara was ordered to mount at the very steps of the Diwan-i-Am, a chariot presented to him for this occasion. With banners unfurled and drums beating, and surrounded by a most magnificent retinue, the Crown Prince marched out of the Palace quadrangle in regal pomp and pride of war. The lonely Emperor stood leaning upon his mace (*asa*) and gazed on the procession straining his dim eyes to catch the last glimpse of his most beloved son.

Dara reached Dholpur on 22nd May and busied himself in strengthing the defences at the ferries of the Chambal. But Aurangzib turned the rear of Dara by fording the river 40 miles east of Dholpur on the 23rd May. Consequently Dara next fell back towards Agra and encamped

at Samugarh, 8 miles east of that city. On 28th May when the weary and straggling advanced detachments of Aurangzib's army were sighted off Samugarh, Dara in nervous haste led out his troops in full array of battle, but strangely enough, without delivering an immediate attack on the worn-out troops of the enemy, he chose to halt and wait for Aurangzib to take the offensive. In the evening he in a defeatist mood returned to the camp after several hours' meaningless manœuvre under a terrible sun which completely wore out his fresh and hearty troops.

The effective strength of the army of Dara was about 60,000 men of all arms, and that of the two rebel princes was no less than 50,000. But Dara could hardly count upon the loyalty and devoted service of even half of his army, because the nobles of the Foreign party, *i.e.* Iranis and Turanis, in the imperal army were extremely jealous of the nobles of the Hindustani party, Rajputs, Sayyids of Barha and other Hindustan-born Musal-

mans patronised by Dara. The state of affairs in the camp of Dara at Samugarh was not unlike the condition of things in his siege-camp beneath the walls of Qandahar. Above all, the character and past record of Dara as a soldier were not calculated to inspire any confidence among his followers. In contrast with Aurangzib he appeared in a very unfavourable light. Aurangzib had "aged in war", and breathed in life nothing but war and intrigue; while Dara had seen very little of actual fighting and never handled large bodies of men in the face of an enemy. Brought up in the soft environments of the court, nurtured in mysticism and philosophy, given to contemplation and literary pursuits, Dara was a complete contrast to Aurangzib as a soldier and man of action.

Early in the morning of Saturday, 29th May, Dara Shukoh arrayed his army on the loose sandy plain of Samugarh in the conventional Mughal style. His artillery under the command of Barqandaz Khan (Jafar) and Manucci

and other European officers, was placed in a row in front of the whole line, and behind the artillery was posted a strong body of infantry armed with matchlocks. Next came 500 camels carrying swivel-guns, and these were followed by several hundred furious war-elephants, almost as invulnerable as mail-clad knights. Under the shelter of this impenetrable wall of defence the rest of the army formed in 5 divisions was arrayed for action. The van was composed of about 10,000 well-appointed horsemen, Rajputs and Pathans under Rao Satarsal Hada, and Daud Khan. Between the centre and the van stood 10,000 troops as advanced reserve under Kunwar Ram Singh Kachchwah, and Sayyid Bahir Khan. In the centre the Crown Prince, mounted on a tall elephant, took post surrounded by 3,000 faithful house-hold troops of his own and at least twice that number of troops of the imperial *mansabdars*. The right wing of his army 15,000 strong was compased entirely of unreliable Central Asian mercenaries, under the command of the

supple and treacherous Khalilullah Khan; and the left wing was commanded by prince Sipihr Shukoh and the brave and loyal chief Rustam Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang. At about noon the two armies came into contact with each other, and for an hour the artillery on both sides fired from too wide a range, producing only much noise and a thick veil of smoke and dust. Aurangzib's guns replied very feebly and gradually ceased altogether to fire. Dara's formation of battle in spite of its defects, was well suited for fighting a defensive action, and so was also Aurangzib's; the advantage lying evidently on that side which could play the defensive game, and tempt the other side to an attack. Either owing to his own inexperience or misled by the sycophants and traitors around him, Dara wrongly concluded that the guns of Barqandaz Khan must have put Aurangzib's artillery out of action and that the enemy was perhaps afraid of attacking his lines; so he decided to scatter them by a general attack. Rustam Khan with the left wing and Khalilullah

Khan with the right charged respectively a division of Aurangzib's artillery under Safshikan Khan, and the troops of Murad on the two wings of the enemy. Having met with an unexpected and murderous volley at close range from Safshikan's artillery, Rustam Khan followed by ten thousand men with drawn sabres swerved to the right to attack Aurangzib's van. His path was barred by Bahadur Khan and other divisions of Aurangzib's troops which were pushed forward to check the onset. For a time Rustam Khan carried everything before him and scattered Bahadur Khan's troops. Suddenly the kettledrums of Dara sounded victory, and the Prince himself with the centre dashed forward to support his victorious left wing, and riding in the track of Rustam Khan fell upon Aurangzib's Advanced Reserve under Shaikh Mir, who was pressing Rustam Khan's exhausted troops hard. He put to flight Shaikh Mir's division displaying in action "undeniable proof of invincible courage" as even his

detractors admitted. But he failed to save his own left wing, a remnant of which had, after the heroic death of Rustam Khan, fled under his son Sipihr Shukoh. No success, no advantage could, however, compensate for this unwise step, namely, the evacuation of his position in the centre, which "more than all other causes put together ruined Dara."[1] His army as a whole was now in the predicament of a ship with its rudder broken. His mighty formation vanished; his guns stood deserted, his matchlockmen were scattered, his elephants and camel corps remained idle too far in his rear to be of any assistance. In short, everything fell into confusion and Dara utterly lost control of the situation.

He now determined to try his luck by attacking the thinned centre of Aurangzib; but when about to lead a charge against his mortal enemy, the news of the death of Rao Satarsal Hada and confusion on his right wing turned

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1 Sarkar, i 395.

him back from the project. So, from the extreme left of his line the Prince undertook to traverse the whole length of his front, all the while exposing his own flank to the galling musketry and artillery fire of the enemy.

Simultaneously with Rustam Khan's charge, Khalilullah Khan had with the right wing of Dara's army attacked Murad's division which formed the left wing of the hostile army. A traitor at heart, he made only a show of attack and having discharged several volleys of arrows at the enemy, retired behind the line as soon as he saw Murad Bakhsh hotly engaged with the van of Dara under Rao Satarsal Hada and Daud Khan. This division which was looked upon as the "steel edge" of the army of Dara did its work most splendidly. During the tumult of Khalilullah's attack on Murad's troops it drove itself like a wedge between the troops of Aurangzib and those of Murad. The Rajputs singled out Murad for attack and a fierce fight raged round his elephant. It is no exaggeration to say

that Rao Satarsal and his companions fought at Samugarh with the loyalty of Napoleon's Guards at Waterloo. No historian can pretend to do justice to the heroism of Rao Satarsal at Samugarh which a gifted bard[1] of Bundi deemed the sublimest theme for his Muse. Not only Rao Satarsal but every Rajput cavalier that followed him fought trusting "his body to the edge of the sword, his mind fixed on God, his heart set on the work of his master, and his head as it were, added to the beads in the rosary (of human skulls) of Hara."[1] The first of the heroic band of chiefs who fell was Rajah Ram Singh Rathor.

Rao Satarsal died with his son, his brother, three nephews, and the very

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1 Surajmal Mishran, a nineteenth century poet of Bundi and author of *Vamsa-Bhaskar*, (which may be called the Mahabharat of Rajputana) reserved the treatment of this episode for a separate treatise which however he did not live to attempt.

1 तन् तरवारिन् मे मन परमेसुर में ।
प्रान स्वामिकारज में, माथो हर-माल में ॥

(see Bhushan's *Satrasal-dashak*, annotated by Lala Bhagwandin Benares Hindu University).

flower of the Hada clan in their fight with Murad, who was ultimately compelled to give ground. The remnant of Rajputs under their last surviving leader Rajah Rup Singh Rathor, fell with unabated fury upon Aurangzib, who was now moving forward with his centre to succour Murad Bakhsh. It was at this crisis that Dara hurried from his extreme left to reinforce his men. An obstinate struggle ensued. As the traitor Khalil-ullah had hidden his face, Dara's van now formed his right wing while his left wing had ceased to exist. Aurangzib engaged the van of Dara, and ordered Sultan Muhammad with his own van, consisting of 10,000 fresh troops, to attack the exhausted and disordered centre of Dara. The fight was now too unequal to be retrieved by the personal valour of Dara and the steadiness of his followers. The Rajputs of the van were not only out-numbered but also out-classed in weapons, having only lance, sword, and dagger to oppose to their enemy's rockets and volleys of bullets. Rajah Rup Singh

Rathor died in an attempt to kill Aurangzib, and all his Rajputs perished fighting against great odds. The traitor Khalilullah with 15,000 troopers who did not receive even a scratch, put himself out of sight altogether. Only a remnant of Daud Khan's Pathans survived, who could at best cover his retreat. Dara, mounted on his tall elephant, now became a target for Aurangzib's artillery served by expert European marksmen. At the urgent importunities of his friends the Prince dismounted and took a horse. But half an hour after the unfortunate Dara realised his mistake. Still he held on bravely, but those who hitherto survived the enemy's sword were struck down by a desolating hot wind which suddenly began to blow in their faces. Dara was distracted and his resolution gave way when he saw his faithful followers dying helplessly with cries of "water" on their lips, and heard his young son Sipihr Shukoh weeping bitterly. Those who valued their master's life more than their own, desperately caught hold of the bridle

of his horse and forced it to take the road to Agra.

None can dispute in the face of these facts that Aurangzib as much deserved the victory as Dara merited his failure. However, Khalilullah's treachery was not perhaps an after-cry raised by the imperialists to cover the shame of their defeat, as the illustrious historian of Aurangzib holds. Who can say what would have been the issue of the fight if Khalilullah with 15,000 Mughal mercenaries had not absolutely held aloof on that day? If victory was impossible, the rout of Dara's army at least would not have been so complete but for treachery in his ranks.

The battle of Samugarh is one of the most decisive battles in Indian history from the political, moral, and military point of view. It meant much more than the transfer of the crown of Hindustan from one son of Shah Jahan to another. Samugarh saw the definite close of the most brilliant epoch of the mediæval history of India which is aptly called the

Age of Akbar—the age of nationalism in politics and culture, the era of Revival of Letters and Fine Art. Dara lost at Samugarh not only a magnificent army but also that optimism and self-confidence which sometimes enable great minds to triumph over almost irretrievable disasters. Dara's ship was now off its anchorage, and the Prince being no pilot in stormy seas allowed it to drift whithersoever Fate would take it.

CHAPTER X

THE VICISSITUDES OF FORTUNE

SECTION 1.—FLIGHT OF DARA SHUKOH FROM SAMUGARH

The Crown Prince, now a miserable fugitive, after covering two or three *kos* from the battle-field, reached a shady tree where he alighted to unlace his helmet and sat down under the tree in utter prostration of body and mind. He refused to move from the place even when the terrific roll of the victor's kettledrum was heard nearer and clearer every moment. "What is destined to happen", he cried out, "better let it happen now". At last at the importunity of his alarmed followers he mounted again, and having reached the capital at about 9 P.M., shut himself up in his mansion. The whole city of Agra appeared like a bewailing house of dead, and loud lamentations in the inner apartments of Shah Jahan were echoed more loudly from the mudwall of humblest citizen. Shah Jahan sent a

request to Dara to come and see him for the last time, a pathetic appeal which was as pathetically refused by Dara. The crestfallen prince wrote in reply, "Give up your wish to see my abashed face again. Only I beg your Majesty's benediction of farewell on this distracted and half-dead man in the long journey that he has before him". At about 3 A.M., accompanied by his wife Nadira Banu, his children and grand-children, and with an escort of a dozen jaded horsemen, Dara started for Delhi.

About five thousand troops, leaving Agra in small groups before the investment of the city on 3rd June by the victorious Aurangzib, rejoined the standard of Dara Shukoh who reached the neighbourhood of Delhi on the 5th June. However, Dara still commanded great resources, as Shah Jahan had supplied him with ample treasures from Agra, placed at his disposal the warlike stores of the Delhi fort, and urged those who retained any love for him to join the Crown Prince. Dara busied himself in

raising another army at Delhi, and sent instructions to his son Sulaiman Shukoh to join him there without delay. But events moved too fast for him, and the unexpected fall of the Agra fort (8th June, 1658) within five days of its blockade by Aurangzib disconcerted his plans altogether.

Again, flight was the only course open to Dara Shukoh. But whither should he fly? To Allahabad or to Lahor? Dara chose to retreat to the Punjab which was then ruled by his deputy Izzat Khan, one of his few faithful servants. He acted on first impulses rather than on mature reflection in this matter. He failed to take advantage of the new situation brought about by Aurangzib's success which made him an enemy of his less successful confederate Shuja. No doubt he recognised the importance of an alliance with Shuja to whose officers Sulaiman was directed to hand over the province of Allahabad. Dara lacked boldness of diplomacy and political foresight, and as such he could not muster sufficient

courage to trust and unite with Shuja to attack Aurangzib from the east and hold him at bay till he should raise an army in the Punjab and come to the aid of Shuja.

Dara and Shuja in league in the eastern provinces, discontented Murad by his own side, rebellious Jaswant in Rajputana, unsubdued Punjab and Kabul on the north-west, and hostile Golconda and Bijapur in the south, would have rendered Aurangzib's position very critical, though the ultimate success of any coalition against that able soldier and resourceful diplomat was extremely doubtful. But Dara decided on retreat to Lahor which afforded Aurangzib an opportunity for crushing his enemies piecemeal. Perhaps the saddest mistake which Dara ever committed was to ask poor Sulaiman Shukoh to do the impossible; namely, to join him at Lahor by marching along the foot of the Himalayas instead of instructing him to fly eastward to the protection of his uncle Shuja.

SECTION 2.—DARA'S PROSPECTS IN LAHORE

Dara had left Delhi with large quantities of treasure and an army 10,000 strong on 12th June, and travelling by way of Sarhind reached Lahor on 3rd July, 1658. On the way he posted his best general Daud Khan at the ferry of Talwan with instructions to hold the line of the Satlej against the enemy. From Lahor he despatched a second detachment of troops numbering about 5,000 under Sayyid Izzat Khan to reinforce Daud Khan and guard the ferry of Rupar on the Satlej. His prospects seemed to brighten for a while. Within a short time 20,000 troops assembled under his banners. Some imperial officers from various motives joined him, one of these being Rajah Rajrup of the Jammu Hills, who offered to raise an army from among the Hill Rajputs if the Prince would provide him with sufficient funds. Dara, who had been the shelter and support of Hindus all through his life still pinned his faith to the fidelty and valour of Rajputs. The

unhappy prince readily caught at Rajrup's offer and made much of him. In order to attach this Hindu chief to her husband's cause with a most inviolable tie, Nadira Banu sent him her milk to taste which, according to the notions of the age, placed Rajrup in the relation of a son to her. Rajrup received several lakhs of rupees[1] from Dara, went home, and it is notorious how he requited the debt of Nadira's milk a year after on the field of Deorai where he, as a partisan of Aurangzib, wrought the complete ruin of Dara by turning the flank of Dara's position. The devotion and loyalty of the European artillery officers of Dara stood in noble contrast to the perfidious conduct of Rajrup. Manucci, an Italian youth barely past twenty, had joined the service of Dara as an Artillery officer a few months before the battle of Samugarh. After having passed through a series of thrilling adven-

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1 Storia de Mogor, ii. p.

Rajrup joined Aurangzib's army encamped near the bank of the Bias on 25 Aug., i.e., 7 days after Dara's flight from Lahor.

tures in the course of his journey in disguise from that lost field to Lahor, he presented himself before Dara again.

About a month after Dara's arrival at Lahor, Bahadur Khan who commanded the van of the pursuing army reached the bank of the Satlej. Foreseeing the contingency of the seizure of boats on the river by the troops of Dara, Aurangzib had supplied his general with portable boats carried on waggons! Against such an enemy Dara had indeed very little chance.

Finding the greater part of Dara's troops concentrated at Talwan, Bahadur Khan secretly crossed the river in the night of 5th August at the Rupar ferry, which was negligently held by Dara's men. Two days afterwards the second division of the pursuing army under Khalilullah Khan also crossed the Satlej at Rupar. Compelled to evacuate Talwan and every other ferry on the Satlej before the combined forces of these two generals, the troops of Dara fell back on Sultanpur on the eastern bank of the river Bias.

The news of this reverse upset Dara's calculations, namely, to hold out at Lahor till the advance of Shuja from Bihar or a rebellion in Rajputana under the leadership of his ally Jaswant would compel Aurangzib to turn back from the Punjab.

Masum, author of *Tarikh-i-Shujai*, gives a faithful picture of the state of affairs at Lahor at this stage: "The prince began to waver in mind to be or not to be at Lahor; now he would think that he should strengthen the city and the citadel of Lahor, summon the nobles of the neighbouring districts to his aid, and make a last and determined effort; now he would think thus: 'As no ray of hope appears in any direction (*lit.*, no scent of good from any quarter reaches my nostrils) it is better that this half-dead self—which has come out safe from the battle—should betake itself to such a place where with my own eyes I may not witness the slaughter of wives and children." Daud Khan, the ablest and most faithful among the servants of Dara represented to him that the Prince ought not give himself up to

despair, which, according to the verse (of the *Quran*), has been branded as infidelity.' He proposed that Dara should himself stay at Lahor and look after the equipment of his forces; and send prince Sipihr Shukoh to Sultanpur on the bank of the Bias, evidently as the nominal commander-in-chief. It was resolved accordingly that Sipihr Shukoh should go along with Daud Khan to oppose the van of the army of Aurangzib. But Nadira Banu, otherwise a courageous and sensible lady and the main prop of the sinking spirit of Dara, would not at all part with her sole remaining son. Her grief over the fate of Sulaiman Shukoh burst forth, and the mother completely overcame the politician in her. Dara with much difficulty persuaded his wife to agree to the departure of Sipihr Shukoh. But this delay in the march of that prince ruined the only chance of holding up the van of the pursuing enemy. Daud Khan who had taken up his position at Sultanpur found it untenable against the united forces of Bahadur Khan and Khalilullah

Khan. So, he fell back upon Govindwal on the other side of the Bias, where Sipihr Shukoh joined him with reinforcements. But it was now too late to attack the enemy's van securely posted on the Sultanpur side of the river. Meanwhile Aurangzib himself reached Rupar on 14th August and on the receipt of the news of the movement of Dara's troops towards Govindwal, sent Mirza Rajah Jai Singh with some other officers to reinforce the van under Khalilullah Khan. On the 18th Mirza Rajah and others formed a junction with Khalilullah's troops at Garh Shankar, 32 miles west of Rupar where they soon heard of Dara's flight from Lahor towards Multan. Dara deemed himself scarcely safe with only the Bias between himself and Aurangzib. It was perhaps the fear of having his line of retreat cut off that made Dara leave Lahor hurriedly. He had recalled Sipihr Shukoh to his side and commanded Daud Khan to hold out till the enemy would actually appear before Govindwal.

There seems to be little truth in the

Manucci's story of the false letter of Aurangzib to Daud Khan, which made Dara suspicious of the loyalty of Daud Khan and was in consequence mainly instrumental in driving Dara out of Lahor. Though Masum corroborates Manucci's version of affairs, it smacks too much of a stock-story. Daud Khan very faithfully clung to the company of the Prince as far Bhakkar, though we doubt very much whether he slew his wives (as Manucci and Masum narrate) to remove Dara's unfounded suspicions and free himself from all anxiety of the world. Had he made such a holocaust of his near and dear ones, what on earth could induce him afterwards to desert a master for whom he was determined to die? It is not unlikely that Dara, who found nothing but ingratitude and treason about him did great injustice to this loyal servant of his by suspecting him of being in collusion with Aurangzib. The very fact that Daud Khan after having taken leave of Dara at Bhakkar returned through Jaisalmir to his home in Hissar warrants

us to surmise that it was perhaps Daud's anxiety for his family in Aurangzib's power that made him desert the lost cause of Dara. The author of *Alamgir-nama*[1] says that Daud Khan received a khilat from Aurangzib in November, 1658, but he does not make any mention of slaughter of his wives by Daud Khan. Masum narrates whatever he heard about it in the remote provincial town of Malda in Bengal. Manucci had been no doubt for sometime Daud Khan's comrade-in-arms; but he sat to write down his reminiscences when fact and fiction had become jumbled up in his failing memory, when almost every event connected with the career of Dara had already received a colour of romance.

SECTION 3.—DARA FLIES THROUGH MULTAN AND SIND

Dara took from Lahor vast treasures and numerous artillery, and 14,000 troops attracted by his liberality accompanied him as far as Multan, which he reached on

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1 Alamgirnama, i. 221.

5th September. But many of his men and officers refused to follow him in his flight further. His army began to melt away rapidly, and when he arrived at Bhakkar, it was reduced to half in number, and that half even was half dead through the fatigue of incessant marching. At Bhakkar Dara halted for five days and deposited a part of his treasure, many of the ladies of his harem and his heavy pieces of artillery in the fort of Bhakkar, which was plentifully supplied with ammunition and supplies and put under the command of his faithful eunuch Basant and Sayyid Abdur Razzaq. Manucci and other European artillery officers were also left there in charge of the guns of the fort. Four thousand troops and most of his officers including Daud Khan left him and returned from Bhakkar to their jagirs. Dara himself did not know whither to go; to Persia as an exile, or to the gates of Agra with the chivalry of Rajputana at his back? He marched further down the Indus and reached a place 50 miles south of Sakkar where begins the road to Persia

via Qandahar. It was perhaps from this place that Dara opened negotiations with Shah Abbas II for a safe refuge and help. In a letter of Shah Abbas II to Dara the Persian king signifies his unwillingness to invade Bhakkar till he should meet the prince, and informs him that Zulfiqar Khan governor of Qandahar, has been instructed to take the necessary steps for conveying the property of Dara to Persia. The fate of Humayun seemed to dog the footsteps of unhappy Dara. But Humayun was fortunate enough in not having Hindustan-born wives and retainers reluctant to trust themselves to the power of the Persians.

Aurangzib reached Multan on 25th September in pursuit of Dara; but alarming news of the hostile advance of Shuja in the direction of Allahabad turned him back from this point. Five days after this he turned back from Multan, leaving there his generals Saf-shikan Khan and Shaikh Mir with instructions to expel the fugitive from the province. At Uch these two generals divided their forces, and marched

parallel on the opposite banks. The most critical stage of the pursuit was the passage of Dara's boats under the gun-fire of the fort of Sehwan, and the escape of Dara's troops through the narrow defile near that fort (2nd November, 1658). Safshikan and Shaikh Mir kept up a hot pursuit of Dara along the right bank of the Indus as far as Thata. There again Dara gave the slip to Saf-shikan by crossing the river Indus on 16th November. Six days later his pursuers also crossed the river, but they lost scent of their game. Just then orders arrived from Aurangzib recalling them to his presence for equipping an expeditionary force against Shuja. Dara now plunged with his army into the inhospitable region of the Rann of Cutch and after going through unspeakable hardships arrived at the capital of the Rao of Cutch. The Rao relieved the misery of the fugitives in every way and bound himself closely to the cause of Dara by betrothing his daughter to Sipihr Shukoh. Hope and optimism revived in the fugitive prince.

SECTION 4.—A RIFT IN THE CLOUD

Dara Shukoh, now a desperate gambler in fortune, drew a good omen from his unexpected welcome at Cutch. After having equipped his small retinue for fresh adventure, he crossed over to Kathiawad where the Jam of Nawnagar honourably received him like a loyal vassal. He now cast his looks on the rich province of Gujrat, which at this time practically owned no master. Gujrat, the seat of Murad's power, was still in the actual possession of Murad's officials who nursed wrath and resentment against Aurangzib for having so treacherously and inhumanly overthrown their master. To govern such a province Aurangzib sent an equally discontented man, Shah Nawaz Khan. Dara now marched upon Ahmadabad with only 3000 troops to try his luck there. When he reached the environs of the city Shah Nawaz quite unexpectedly came out to welcome him and conducted him into the fort. Dara now established his court at Ahmadabad; but out of love

and respect for his living father, he neither assumed the kingly title nor sat on the throne. The only royal prerogative which he assumed, and that too at the importunity of Shah Nawaz Khan, was to show himself every morning from the state-window, (*Jharoka-i-darshan*). Lured by the prospect of liberal pay, an army of 22,000 troopers soon assembled under Dara. He sent a small force under Amina Gujrati to wrest the port of Surat from Aurangzib's officials. Amina secured the peaceful surrender of the city from Aurangzib's governor Sadiq Muhammad Khan, and brought away from it a large sum of money, considerable quantities of ammunition, and 40 pieces of artillery for his master.

Dara had rendered friendly diplomatic services to Bijapur and Golconda which but for the support of the Crown Prince would have been annihilated by Aurangzib in 1656 and 1657. To the rulers of these two States, sworn enemies of Aurangzib as they were, Dara looked up for help in another attempt at retrieving

his fortune. Indeed, Dara was reported to be contemplating a dash for the South, and Aurangzib had accordingly warned his son Prince Muazzam to be in readiness to frustrate such a move on the part of his uncle. But the whole of Hindustan was suddenly thrown into a strange commotion by a false news about the defeat of Aurangzib at the hands of Shuja and the return of Maharajah Jaswant Singh to Jodhpur laden with the spoils of Aurangzib's camp. Dara, like most other men, did not doubt its authenticity, and he accordingly gave up the idea of going to the Deccan. Having appointed Sayyid Ahmad Bukhari to the charge of Ahmadabad, he started for Ajmir by way of Sirohi on 14th February, but when he had travelled only three stages he was upset by the news of Aurangzib's decisive victory over Shuja in the battle of Khajwa (5th January, 1659). Had he at this stage turned his steps towards the Deccan he could have, with the forces at his disposal (about 20,000 troops, besides artillery), safely cut

his way to the courts of Bijapur and Golconda. But Rajputana still lured him on. Maharajah Jaswant Singh, who could hardly hope for pardon a second time at the hands of Aurangzib, was now in open revolt against him, and in order to give a colour of justice and legitimacy to his action he invited the Crown Prince to his territory, giving him the most solemn promises of help. Accordingly Dara preferred linking his fortune with that of Jaswant to a retreat to the Deccan without striking a blow. So he marched rapidly with his army to Mairta, 37 miles north-west of Ajmir. But there he found no signs of warlike preparations, nor of Jaswant's coming out to welcome him. The prince had sent to Jodhpur a trustworthy Hindu agent named Dunichand, who returned with a message from Jaswant that it was more advisable for the Prince to establish himself in Ajmir, which is the heart of the Rajput country, and that he would after equipping his forces join him in person there. Dara with his army now moved

towards Ajmir, 37 miles south-east of Mairta.

None indeed had a better claim upon the sympathy and gratitude of the Hindus than the liberal-minded and generous prince Dara Shukoh. And among the Hindus, Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar, "the Sun of the Hindu race" perhaps was most heavily indebted to Dara Shukoh, who had shielded him from the wrath of Shah Jahan, and saved his principality from impending ruin only three years before when Shah Jahan had sent Sadullah Khan against the Maharana.

Hurled by cruel fate from the pinnacle of fortune to the abyss of misery, Dara Shukoh made a touching appeal to the Maharana for aid and protection in the name of the sacred rites of hospitality which a Rajput holds so dear. He writes: (After informing the Maharana that he had reached Sirohi), "We have entrusted our honour to the keeping of the Rajputs and we have indeed come as a guest (*mehman*) of the whole Rajput race. Maharajah Jaswant Singh has also got

himself ready to join us. You are the head of the Rajput race. We have recently come to know that your son has come away from his (Aurangzib's) side. Such being the case we hope that the worthiest of the worthy Rajahs (*i.e.*, the Maharana) would come to our help in liberating *Ala Hazrat* (the Emperor Shah Jahan).... If you are unable to come in person, some relation of yours should be sent to us with 2000 horse....[1] (*nishan*, dated 1st *Jamadi-ul-awwal* 1069=15 January, 1659 A.D.).

But the entreaties of the distressed prince found no response from the Maharana. Raj Singh, in spite of all the fame and glory that crowned the close of his

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[1] Udaipur archieves quoted in Virbinode, ii. p. 432. As the style shows there can be no doubt that the letter is genuine. But the date, 1st Jamadi-ul-awwal seems to be a slip or a copyist's error; such slips being not unfrequently met with in other letter of Dara preserved in Jaipur. Dara entered Ahmadabad on 9th January, 1659 and he stayed for about a month before he decided to go to Rajputana; so the correct date should be 1st Jamadi-us-sani i.e., 14th February. Sir Jadunath Sarkar on the authority of Persian writers gives 14th Feb. as the date of Dara's departure from Ahmadabad. But this letter clearly proves that Dara had reached Sirohi not later than the middle of February, 1659.

career, was like every other Hindu chief essentially a man of narrow views and of still narrower sympathies.

Maharana Raj Singh's resentment against the Emperor Shah Jahan for confiscating a few parganas in 1654 made him forget that he owed his own salvation and the possession of the rest of his territory to the powerful intervention of Dara Shukoh, who could not secure the complete restoration of his possessions owing to the opposition of Aurangzib's ally Sadullah Khan. The recovery of these parganas became the one absorbing thought of the Maharana, who now turned to Aurangzib to secure this object. Several *nishans* of Aurangzib preserved in the archives of Udaipur give us a clue to Aurangzib's diplomacy in winning over the Maharana to his side. In one of these, written on the eve of his departure from the Deccan, he consents to the restoration of four of the confiscated parganas, as prayed for by the Maharana; in a second letter written after the victory of Dharmat he urges the Maharana to

wrest the above-mentioned parganas from their present holders, and gives him hopes that, God willing, he would make the Maharana a greater potentate than even Rana Sanga. After the victory of Samugarh, Aurangzib flung contemptuously a few more bones at him in the shape of the grant of Dungarpur, Banswara, Basawar, etc., in order to silence the custodian of the interests of Hindu race, whose humiliation he was to attempt later.

At Ajmir Dara was passing through days of agonising anxiety at the delay of Jaswant. A second time Dubin Chand (Dunichand ?) went to Jaswant and came back with the same evasive replies from him, as the Jodhpur Chief had now abandoned the thought of joining Dara. At last, poor Dara sent his young son Sipihr Shukoh to move the heart of Jaswant, but it was to no purpose. Maharajah Jaswant Singh broke his

1 *Nishans* quoted in Virbinode, ii 414.

1 Alamgirnama, p. 311-312.

plighted word and turned false to Dara; but why? Was the perfidy of Jaswant pre-meditated?

The whole affair admits of being interpreted as a piece pre-meditated treachery on the part of Jaswant, who evidently used poor Dara as a pawn in his diplomatic game to secure from Aurangzib a pardon on liberal terms for what he had done at Khajwa. To credit Jaswant with so much cool deliberation, cunning and political sagacity is to misinterpret his acts and character. The embarrassing act of treachery of Jaswant at Khajwa and his fresh enmity to Aurangzib for no apparent advantage after the latter had forgiven that act, is explained only by Jaswant's love for Dara which, throughout the remaining career of Jaswant, kept him an ill-concealed enemy of Aurangzib, and prompted him invariably to acts of treachery against that emperor. Jaswant undoubtedly was sincere in his profession of devotion to Dara and meant to stand by him through thick and thin when he invited Dara to

Rajputana. He actually made some preparations for opposing Aurangzib; but at the psychological moment when Jaswant's optimism was giving way to despair at the approach of the avenging armies of Aurangzib, when sentiment was struggling with self-interest for ascendancy over his heart, there came a letter from Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, the wary old decoy-bird of Aurangzib: "What can be your inducement, (he wrote to him) to endeavour to sustain the falling fortunes of this Prince? Perseverance in such an undertaking must inevitably bring ruin upon you and your family, without advancing the interests of the wretched Dara. From Aurangzib, you will never obtain forgiveness. I, who am also a Raja, conjure you to spare the blood of *Ragipous* (Rajputs). Do not buoy yourself up with the hope of drawing other Rajas to your party; for I have means to counteract any such attempt. This is a business which concerns all the *Indous*, and *you cannot be permitted to kindle* a flame that will soon rage throughout the

kingdom, and which no effort might be able to extinguish. If, on the other hand, you leave Dara to his own resources, Aurangzib will bury all the past in oblivion; will not reclaim from you the money you obtained at *Kadjoue* (Khajwah); but will at once nominate you to the government of *Guzarate*. You can easily appreciate the advantage of ruling a province so contiguous to your own territories; there you will remain in perfect quiet and security, and I hereby offer you my guarantee for the exact fulfilment of all I have mentioned."[1] Only an obstinate fool or a heroic martyr could hold out againt such tempting offers and cogent arguments effectively driven home with the bayonet at one's throat. But Jaswant was neither; his moral courage and constancy were not equal to his valour and noble impulse. Jai Singh's letter stifled the cry of conscience in the breast of Jaswant, whom the instinct of

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1 Bernier's Travels, Constable, p. 86.

self-preservation induced to dishonour his plighted word to his princely ally.

SECTION 5.—THE BATTLE OF DEORAI

Deserted by Jaswant and indeed shunned by every Rajput, Dara found it impossible even to make a safe retreat without giving a fight to Aurangzib. Leaving his own family and those of his officers at Ajmir, Dara led his small army out to the pass of Deorai, situated 4½ miles south of Ajmir, a little to the east of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway line. There he took a strong position with the city of Ajmir in his rear and his two flanks guarded by two long inaccessible ranges of hills, the Bithli and Gokla. He fortified this line in front by running "a low wall south of his position, from hill to hill across the valley, with trenches in front and redoubts at different points. The entire line was divided into four sections, each under a different commander with artillery and musketeers. On the right at the south-western corner of his position,

close to the hill of Bithli lay trenches of Sayyid Ibrahim (surnamed Mustafa Khan, and Jani Beg (Dara's Chief of Artillery) with a thousand barqandazes besides other troops. Next came the trenches of Firuz Mewati, and beyond them, on a hillock over-looking the pass were mounted some big guns. Here, at the centre of lines stood Dara with his staff. On his left the line was continued by the third section of the trenches commanded by Shah Nawaz Khan, and Muhammad Sharif Qalich Khan, and fourth section under Sipihr Shukoh at the south-eastern corner adjoining the hill of Gokla."[1]

On 11th March Aurangzib halted one mile from Deorai, his progress being arrested by the fortified trenches of Dara. That very night, a dashing officer of Aurangzib silently occupied a mound midway between the two armies. Next morning an obstinate fight took place for four hours over the possession of this

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1 (*History of Aurangzib*, Vols. I & II, p. 506).

mound; but under cover of the fight the artillery of Aurangzib was dragged up the mound which compelled Dara's troops to retire behind their lines. In the afternoon of 13th March, 2000 steel-clad cavalry of Dara came down upon the pickets of Aurangzib and gave a good account of themselves in a skirmish with the enemy. The traditional Mughal tactics of attack along all the fronts proved a failure against the entrenched lines of Dara. The perfidious Rajrup, who had tasted Nadira Banu's milk as a most solemn pledge of his devotion to Dara, now offered to accomplish what none else could do. His followers had discovered an unguarded path for ascending the back of the Gokla hill in the rear of the left flank of Dara. Towards the evening of 14th March, Rajrup sent a body of his hardy mountaineers behind the Gokla hill to climb up the narrow track while he himself attacked Shah Nawaz Khan's lines on the left flank of Dara. One thousand cavalry sallied out from Shah Nawaz Khan's trenches to engage Rajrup. But

in accordance with a preconcerted plan Aurangzib's officers had concentrated the greater part of their troops opposite the enemy's left flank which they were determined to carry at any cost. An obstinate cavalry action was fought in front of Shah Nawaz Khan's trenches. The troops of Dara never fought so well, nor did Dara and his officers ever show so much coolness and judgment as on this day. But Dara was out-generalled; Aurangzib had massed his troops against the left flank of Dara and now made a concentrated attack on it. Jai Singh, Dilir Khan and Shaikh Mir bore down upon the troops of Dara who had come out to attack and, after one hour's persistent charges by cavalry, dislodged them from their position and pushed forward in reckless fury to the edge of Shah Nawaz Khan's trenches. About the same time Rajrup's infantry toiling up the Gokla hill appeared on the crest of the hill in the rear of Shah Nawaz Khan. Then the troops of Aurangzib, flushed with the certainty of

coming victory, attacked the trenches of Shah Nawaz with fresh vigour. To complete the disaster, a cannon-ball from Aurangzib's battery killed Shah Nawaz outright. Still the battle raged fiercely and the troops of Dara fought with the most obstinate valour. Of the attacking party Shaikh Mir was killed by a bullet and Dilir Khan received an arrow-wound. Dilir Khan's Pathans, now reinforced by the Rajputs of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh practically annihilated the left flank of Dara.

Dara had done his best throughout the day to maintain the unequal contest. From his position in the centre he watched carefully every phase of the battle and sent timely reinforcements to the trenches of Shah Nawaz Khan. His troops could have yet repulsed the attack but for the panic created by the sudden appearance of Rajrup's infantry in their rear. They now gave up all hopes and considered it suicidal to prolong the struggle. Dara realised the situation too clearly to tarry longer in that untenable

position. Accompanied by his only surviving general Firuz Mewati and his son Sipihr Shukoh, he, at about 8 P.M. (14th March), took the road to Gujrat *via* Mairta. What had appeared to be a rift in the cloud proved only the treacherous golden tint of evening clouds.

APPENDIX I.

Bernier depicts Shah Nawaz Khan as a double-faced traitor, who kept Aurangzib regularly informed of all the designs of Dara and asserts that Dara owed his misfortune to his putting too much trust in Shah Nawaz Khan. But this is perhaps a baseless calumny against the old man. In fact had not Shah Nawaz Khan thrown himself wholeheartedly into the interests of Dara and stood by him to the last, Dara would either have been made a prisoner at Ahmadabad or compelled to retire disappointed from Gujrat. We find no reason to suspect the fidelity of Shah Nawaz to Dara till his death. The story of the treachery of Shah Nawaz Khan like that of Aurangzib's corrupting the artillerymen of Dara who fired blank shots is only the usual cry of the defeated party. According to Iswardas Nagar, who had no reason to exaggerate the number of slain in the army of Aurangzib,

5,000 men were killed on the side of Aurangzib. Dara lost perhaps fewer men because he fought on the defensive behind trenches. There was some slaughter after the capture of the left wing lines of Dara by Dilir Khan and Jai Singh; but the dark night soon put a stop to it. How are we to account for such heavy casualties in the army of Aurangzib if Dara's artillery which was most busy, had fired only blank shots? Had Dara's artillerymen been corrupted, Aurangzib's army would not have been held back for two days.

As regards the death of Shah Nawaz Khan, Bernier says that the head of Shah Nawaz was either cut off by Dara himself "or, as it is thought more probable, by the swords of persons in Aurangzib's army, who, being secret partisans of Dara, felt apprehensive that Shah Nawaz Khan would denounce them, and make mention of the letters they had been in the habit of writing to that prince." (Bernier's *Travels*, p. 87). There is hardly a grain of truth in these bazar-gossips. According to one account, which Sir Jadunath Sarkar has accepted, the body of Shah Nawaz was blown away by a cannon ball (*Hist. of Aurangzib*) *Iqbal-nama-i-Alamgiri* says that he was killed by the sword of a soldier of Aurangzib.

Bernier tells another absurd story: "I shall simply state that the first shot was scarcely fired when Jesseingue (Jai Singh) placing himself within

the sight of Dara, sent an officer to inform him that he must instantly quit the field. The poor prince, seized with sudden fear and surprise, acted upon his advice. . . . ." Bernier evidently knew very little of the battle of Deorai. After the overthrow of his left wing Dara required no friendly advice of Jai Singh to leave the field. In anticipation of a sudden reverse of fortune, he had kept the inmates of his harem mounted on elephants throughout the last day of the battle (14th March, 1659) on the bank of the Anna-Sagar lake in charge of the trusty eunuch, Maqbul.

We can only accept as true what Bernier actually saw and not what he heard from his *Agha*, Danishmand Khan, or from boastful and imaginative partisans on either side.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CLOSING ACT OF THE TRAGEDY

SECTION I.—DARA'S FLIGHT FROM AJMIR

Having travelled without a halt all the night of 14th March, 1659 and the whole of the next day, Dara and his party arrived at Mairta in Jodhpur territory in the evening of the 15th March. With only 2000 troops and one faithful general, Firuz Mewati, Dara left Mairta that very night, and covering 30 miles a day, fled southward for Gujrat by way of Par and Bargaon. Six days behind him came his pursuers, Mirza Rajah Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan with an army of 20,000 troops. Three days after Dara had left the territory of Jodhpur, Jaswant received orders from Aurangzib to capture the fugitive. Accordingly he joined Mirza Rajah Jai Singh in the march towards Ahmadabad. The orders of Aurangzib to Mirza Rajah were explicit that he must not return

without Dara, dead or alive. The military genius, energy and forethought displayed by Jai Singh during the pursuit of Dara through Gujrat and the Rann of Cutch stand in glaring contrast with the same Rajah's slackness and ill-concealed indifference in the chase of Shuja from Bahadurpur to Mungir. The story of the relentless pursuit of Dara by Mirza Rajah Jai Singh as described by contemporary European and Muslim writers and fully borne out by his own despatches to Aurangzib (*Haftanjuman*) gives a direct lie to Bernier's statement that Jai Singh purposely held back from making a prisoner of Dara during his flight to Siwistan. In fact, Jai Singh entered into this inglorious work with some ardour and zeal, and not without betraying a deep personal hatred. Far from conniving at Dara's escape, he spread a net-work of diplomacy to entrap the unhappy prince. "Jai Singh sent off letters to the princes and zamindars in every direction to bar Dara's path—to Sirohi and Palanpur in the south, Dairwara (Dailwara, 9 miles

north of Udaipur) in the south east, to princes of northern Kathiawar and Cutch and the zamindars of Lower Sindh, and to the officers of Gujrat. Thus it was that that everywhere Dara found enemies warned of his coming and ready to seize him."[1]

With his little band of faithful followers worn out by fatigue and thirst and hemmed in on all sides with bands of ferocious Koli robbers, Dara reached with difficulty a place 48 miles north of Ahmadabad on 29th March. But the letters of Jai Singh had done their work. Dara's officer who had been sent to Ahmadabad returned with the news that Dara's governor Sayyid Ahmad Bukhari[2] had been imprisoned by the local civil and military officers and that the entry of the Prince to Ahmadabad would meet with determined resistance. Bernier, who accidentally fell in with the party of

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1 History of Aurangzib, Vols. I & II, p. 525.

2 Bernier's statement that Dara's governor at Ahmadabad was won over by Aurangzib is contradicted by the Persian authorities.

Dara and was made to accompany the prince in the capacity of a physician, thus describes the miserable plight of Dara:

"I had now been three days with Dara, whom I met on the road by the strangest chance imaginable; and being destitute of any medical attendant, he compelled me to accompany him in the capacity of a physician. The day preceding on which he received the governor's communication, he expressed his fear lest I should be murdered by the Koullys (Kolis), and insisted upon my passing night in the Karavan-serrak (Sarai), where he then was. The cords of the *Kanats* or screens, which concealed his wife and women (for he was even without a tent) were fastened to the wheels of the carriage wherein I reposed . . . . I mention the circumstances as a proof of the low condition to which the fortunes of the Prince were reduced. It was at break of day that Governor's message was delivered, and shrieks of the females drew tears from every eye. We were all overwhelmed with confusion and dismay,

gazing in speechless horror at each other at a loss what plan to recommend, and ignorant of the fate which awaited us from hour to hour. We observed Dara stepping out more dead than alive, speaking now to one, then to another; stopping and consulting even the commonest soldier. He saw consternation in every countenance, and felt assured he should be left without a single follower . . . . . . Dara felt anxious to retain me in his service, especially as one of his wives had a bad wound in her leg; yet neither his threats nor entreaties could procure for me a single horse, or camel; so totally destitute of power and influence had he become! I remained behind, therefore, because of the absolute impossibility of continuing the journey, and could not but weep when I beheld the prince depart with a force diminished to four or five hundred horsemen."[1]

On 30th March Dara resumed his flight in a westerly direction and entered

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[1] Bernier; 89-91.

the Kari district, trusting himself to the honour and good faith of a Koli Robin Hood named Kanji (Kanhoji). The afflicted heart of the prince was soothed by the conduct of this Hindu outlaw in whom he found knightly sentiments purer and loftier than what the flower of Rajput chivalry had displayed during the last month. Moved to pity by the distress of the outlawed Heir-Apparent of Shah Jahan, the robber chieftain safely escorted him to the boundary of Cutch. Meanwhile, Gul Muhammad Khan with 50 horse and 200 musketeers, whom Dara had left in charge of Surat, joined his party. Dressed in a tunic of thin linen and wearing slippers worth 8 annas and accompanied by an equally miserable retinue, the prince started from Viramgaon, and after crossing the waterless waste of the Lesser Rann, again entered Bhuj, the capital of his former friend, the Rao of Cutch. But Dara now found the chief a changed man, whose mind had been worked up by the letters of Jai Singh "full of hopes and threats." The

Rao not unreasonably declined to harbour the fugitive in his dominion, which was certainly beyond his power. He however entertained the prince and his party for two days and then escorted him to the northern boundary of his island, where begins the terrible salt marsh of the Greater Rann. In the beginning of May, 1659, Dara re-entered Sindh but found his path ahead at Badin blocked by an officer of Aurangzib.

Dara, stricken down by "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune", now instinctively felt that he had come to the end of his life's journey. Indeed, the net of Aurangzib was fast closing round him. In front of him lay the traitor Khalilullah Khan, who had marched down from Multan to Bhakkar in order to baffle any attempt of Dara to join his trusty slave Basant, who was most gallantly defending the fortress of Bhakkar against great odds. Behind him Jai Singh was crossing the Great Rann with the strung up energy of a hunter in sight of the game. The Rajah had marched 80 miles without halting

over a roadless and waterless salt marsh, travelling at night by moonlight and with lighted torches when the moon set. The only course now open to Dara was to cross the Indus and flee to Persia *via* Qandahar.

SECTION 2.—DARA'S ADVENTURES AMONG THE TRANS-INDUS TRIBES

On the eastern bank of the Indus even Firuz Mewati, who had so long followed the fortune of Dara with rare constancy and fidelity, took leave of the prince. Dara, with his last faithful officer Gul Muhammad crossed over to the other bank of the Indus and entered the Baloch tribal territory. The fugitives were plundered and ill-treated by the Chandi tribe; but the Maghasis, who were enemies of the Chandi tribe, gave a hospitable welcome to Dara and offered to escort him with his family to Qandahar. But fate decreed it otherwise. Dara's wife Nadira Banu and the other women of his harem shuddered at the idea of entrusting their honour to ferocious Baloches, and worse

still to be dragged into the harem of the licentious Shah of Persia. Dara had to give way particularly because of the delicate condition of the health of Nadira Banu who had been long suffering from dysentery.

Dara's mind also changed; hope again conjured up before him the vision of the Peacock Throne which might perchance be yet recovered. He formed the plan of raising an army with the help of some powerful tribal chief in the trans-Indus region for relieving the fort of Bhakkar which was still holding out, and then marching into Afghanistan, held by a friendly governor Mahabat Khan, the younger. The prince eagerly seeking an ally among the border tribes recalled to his mind an incident of his happier days when he had saved the life of an Afghan predatory chief, Malik Jiwan,[1] who was

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1 Masum describes the incident as follows :—

"The governor of Multan arrested him (Malik Jiwan) for committing a dangerous crime and sent him to court. The Emperor (Shah Jahan) wanted him to be thrown under the feet of an elephant and put to death by being inflicted the worst

now castellan of the fort of Dadar, 9 miles east of the Indian end of the Bolan Pass. He appealed to Malik Jiwan for help and refuge in the name of humanity and former friendship. Malik Jiwan was a typical frontier Pathan, a compound of the Turk and the Jew, a mixture of ferocity, pride, and cupidity. Disregarding the offer of the friendly Mirza of the Maghasi to escort him to Qandahar, Dara left their protection and started with his party for Dadar.

SECTION 3.—DEATH OF DARA'S WIFE, NADIRA BANU BEGAM

Though the unfortunate Dara had lost the crown of Delhi at Samugarh, he felt as if the royal fortune of Hindustan was yet accompanying him through every

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tortures. One of the friends of that zamindar was in the service of Dara Shukoh and enjoyed the confidence and intimacy of the prince. One day in an opportune (*lit.* delightful) moment he submitted to the prince the facts of Malik Jiwan's affair and begged and wept much for his pardon. The prince melting at the tears of his servant, gave him his word to secure his release. Next day, the prince put the whole affair before the Emperor, saved the doomed one from that perilous situation and made him, upon whose head ought

adventure as long as his beloved wife Nadira Banu was by his side. Like a phantom of Hope she sustained the sinking spirit of her husband in the darkest hours of adversity and suffering, and urged him forward to manly exertion for retrieving his fortune. She had long been ailing of dysentery; but Dara could never dream that she would, unlike his mother Mumtaz Mahal, die without seeing better days. But the end of Nadira drew near and before the party of the prince reached Dadar she breathed her last (6th June, 1659). The grief and misery of the bereaved prince exceeded all bounds; "The bright world grew dark in the eyes of Dara Shukoh. He was utterly bewildered. The pillars of (his) judgment and prudence all at once shook and fell down."[1] It is hardly an exaggeration to

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to have descended the sword of justice, the recipient of royal favour. Through the kindness of Dara Shukoh that rejected one (coming out as it were) from beneath the elephant's feet, mounted the back of the elephant, and started homeward in safety and honour." (*Tarikh-i-Shujai*, 139b; 140 a).

[1] Tarikh-i-Shujai, Ms. 140.

say that she was to her husband his consort, counsellor, and disciple in one, and by taking her away God took away his all. But could the disconsolate prince have foreseen what was to befall him soon afterwards, he would have bowed in gratitude and thanked God that death had saved her from the greater agony of surviving her husband and sons.

Section 4.—The Prince made captive

When Dara had arrived within one *kos* of the stronghold of Malik Jiwan, the Afghan chief came out to welcome him with due honours. It was at this stage that Nadira Banu died (6th June) expressing her last wish (*wasiyat kardah*) to have her corpse borne back to Hindustan. Hitherto hers was the main objection which held back Dara from the project of going to Persia. So, after her expiry the few faithful and stout hearts who were anxious for the safety of their prince proposed that instead of thrusting their heads into the den of the treacherous Pathans possibly seduced by the letters

of enemies—they should from that very place turn towards Persia.

But Dara refused to believe that Malik Jiwan, who owed his life to him could ever turn false to his salt. He put on a mourning dress and decided to observe at least the three customary days of mourning before deciding what course to follow. The corpse of Nadira was borne to the house of Jiwan where Dara and his followers were very hospitably entertained for the next two days. True to his departed love, Dara's first thought was to arrange for the escort of Nadira's last remains, which he wished to be buried at Lahor in the holy precincts of the grave of Mian Mir. Dara sent away every available soldier, about 70 in number, under his brave and devoted captain Gul Muhammad to escort the coffin of Nadira to Lahor. Khawjah Maqbul, who had served Nadira all through life, was ordered to accompany the coffin and attend to her burial rites. The prince with the magnanimity of a noble soul about to close his account

with the world, assembled all his other followers and gave them a free choice either to return to Hindustan with the party of Gul Muhammad or stay back to suffer voluntarily the privations of exile in Persia. None remained with Dara except his son Sipihr Shukoh and a few eunuchs and menial servants.

Next morning (9th June, 1659) Dara, with his son Sipihr and a handful of miserable followers, left the house of Malik Jiwan and proceeded towards the Bolan Pass, their destination being the fort of Qandahar. But no sooner had they reached the head of the road, than they were surrounded by Malik Jiwan and his ferocious band. Dara, whose body and spirit seemed to have been paralysed by the death of Nadira, did not raise a finger in self-defence; only Sipihr Shukoh offered fight but was soon overpowered. They were now brought back prisoners to the house of their treacherous host, who at once despatched fast riders to the camp of Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan with the news of their capture. The piteous sight

of his young son, Sipihr Shukoh with his hands tied behind his back was more than what Dara could bear. "Finish, finish," said he, "ungrateful and infamous wretch that thou art, finish that which thou hast commenced; we are the victims of evil fortune and the unjust passion of Aurangzib, but remember that I do not merit death except for having saved thy life, and remember that a prince of the royal blood never had his hands tied behind his back."[1] The sinful heart of Malik Jiwan quailed for a moment at the vehemence of Dara's words, and he ordered the hands of Sipihr Shukoh to be untied.

Mirza Rajah Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan crossed the Indus on 20th June and proceeded towards Dadar to take charge of the captives. On the 23rd Malik Jiwan handed over Dara, his son and two daughters to Bahadur Khan. "The fallen prince was speechless with dispair and utterly dazed by calamity; he con-

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1 Travels of Tavernier, Vol. I, pp. 351, 352.

sented to everything that his captors suggested. They made him write a letter to the eunuch Basant, ordering him to give up to the imperialists the fort of Bhakkar with Dara's property and family lodged there, and sent the eunuch Maqbul to carry it as a proof of Dara's ruin."[2] Malik was made a *hazari* in the Mughal peerage and received the title of Bakhtyar Khan for betraying the luckless heir of Shah Jahan. Besides, he was asked to accompany the prisoners to Delhi where further honours awaited him.

After two months Bahadur Khan and the newly made Bakhtyar Khan (Malik Jiwan) arrived at Delhi with the captive prince and his family (23rd August, 1659). Dara and his son Sipihr Shukoh were handed over to the charge of Nazar Beg, a trusty *chelah* (slave) of Aurangzib. They were lodged in one of the buildings of Khawaspura, now a village three miles south of Delhi-Shahjahanabad. Two days after (25th August), Nazar Beg was

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2 History of Aurangzib, Vol. I & II, p. 540.

summoned to the presence of Aurangzib in order to submit details about the condition of the prisoners. On Tuesday, 29th August, Aurangzib issued orders for a disgraceful parade of the captive prince and his son in a magnificent military procession which should pass through the main thoroughfares of the city of Shahjahanabad in order to disillusion the citizens of Delhi who were till now sceptical about the capture of the real Dara. The prisoners were dressed in coarse and dirty clothes with sorry turbans wrapped with an apology of a Kashmir shawl "resembling that worn by the meanest people." A miserable and worn out female elephant, made more repulsive with dirt and filth, was selected for the honour of carrying the captive princes, who with their feet enchained were seated in an open *howda* on its back; and the slave Nazar Beg with a naked sword sat behind them. Close to the elephant of Dara, rode Malik Jiwan and his Afghans. A strong force of mail-clad cavalry in their shining steel and with-

drawn swords, and mounted archers with arrows fixed to their bows lent an awe-inspiring magnificence to the disgraceful show. Bahadur Khan mounted on an elephant headed the procession to Delhi through the Lahori gate of the city. "Exposed to the full blaze of an August sun, he was taken through the scenes of his former glory and splendour. In the bitterness of disgrace he did not raise his head, nor cast his glance on any side, but sat 'like a crushed twig.' Only once did he look up, when a poor beggar from the road-side cried out, "Oh Dara! when you were master, you always gave me alms; today I know well thou hast naught to give."[1] 'A king in shreds and patches,' poor Dara had now nothing to bestow on misery except perhaps a drop of tear and a sigh of sympathy. Nevertheless he raised his hand and drawing off his wrapper threw it to the beggar.

The French doctor Benier, an eye-witness of this ignominious show, says:

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[1] Hist. of Aurangzib, I & II, p. 543.

"The crowd assembled upon this disgraceful occasion was immense; and everywhere I observed the people weeping and lamenting the fate of Dara in the most touching language. . . . . . . From every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shieks, for the Indian people have a very tender heart; men, women, and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves . . . . . . but not a single movement was made, none offered to draw a sword, with a view of delivering the beloved and compassionated prince."[1] The procession, after passing through Chandi Chok and Sadullah Khan's Bazar and under the walls of the citadel of Delhi, returned to the Khizirabad garden, where Bahadur Khan handed back the prisoners to the custody of Nazar Beg. Dara and his son were lodged in their former cell in the Khawaspura mansion and Shafi Khan was appointed to guard them with a strong force.

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1 Bernier's Travels, I, pp. 99-100.

Section 5.—Murder of Dara Shukoh

Alarmed at the report of popular sorrow and indignation during the procession, Aurangzib summoned that very evening a meeting of his most confidential partisans in the *Diwan-i-Khas* of the Delhi fort. It was debated whether Dara should be executed or kept a state-prisoner in the fort of Gwalior. "By some it was maintained that there was no reason for proceeding to extremities, and that the prince might be taken to Gwalior provided he were attended with a strong escort. Danishmand Khan, although he and Dara had long been on bad terms, is said to have enforced this opinion with all his powers of argument: but it was ultimately decided that Dara should die, and that Sipihr Shukoh should be confined in Gwalior. At this meeting Raushanara Begam betrayed all her enmity against her hapless brother, combating arguments of Danishmand, and exciting Aurangzib to this foul and unnatural murder. Her efforts were but too

successfully seconded by Khalil-ullah Khan and Shaista Khan, both of them old enemies of Dara; and by Taqarrub Khan, a wretched parasite recently raised to the rank of *Omrah*, and formerly a physician (Hakim Daud)."[1] The *ulemas* who had had a bad time during the period of Dara's ascendancy, issued the *fatwa* of death sentence against the unorthodox Dara. "The pillars of Canonical Law and Faith apprehended many kinds of disturbance from his life. So, the Emperor, both out of necessity to protect the Faith and Holy Law, and also *for reasons of State*, considered it unlawful to allow Dara to remain alive any longer as a destroyer of public peace." Thus does the official history[2] published under Aurangzib's authority justify this act of political murder.

Next morning (30th August) Aurangzib held a *darbar* to show his appreciation of

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

2 *Alamgir-nama;* see History of Aurangzib, I & II, pp. 544-545.

Malik Jiwan's services. When the party of this newly created peer was being conducted through the city, the pent-up wrath of the populace of Delhi against the traitor broke forth. "The idlers, the partisans of Dara, the workmen and people of all sorts (lit. trade), inciting each other, gathered into a mob, and assailing Jiwan and his companions with abuse and imprecations, they pelted them with dirt and filth, and clods and stones, so that several persons were knocked and killed, and many were wounded. Jiwan was protected by shields held over his head, and he at length made his way through the crowd to the palace. They say that the disturbance on this day was so great that it bordered on rebellion. If the *kotwal* had not come forward with his policemen, (to suppress the rising) not one of Malik Jiwan's followers would have escaped with life. From the roofs of houses women threw so much ashes, and pots (*kaujah*) filled with urine and human stools upon the heads of Afghans that even

many bystanders received injuries."[1] This incident, however, only hastened the doom of Dara.

In the evening Aurangzib summoned Nazar Quli (Beg) to his presence and ordered him to separate Sipihr Shukoh from his father, and bring him the head of Dara. The supervision of the bloody task was entrusted to Shafi Khan. At nightfall when Dara for fear of being poisoned, was engaged with his son Sipihr Shukoh in boling some lentils, Nazar and his comrades of hell entered the room. Seeing these bloody men in the posture the prince all at once gave a start and sat shrinking back. He said to them, "Have you been sent to slay us?" They replied "At present we do not know anything about killing anybody. It has been ordered that your son should be separated from you and kept in custody somewhere

[1] Khaf Khan, iii., p. 86; translated in Elliot and Dawson, Vol. VII, p. 246. As regards the end of Malik Jiwan, Bernier says: "He did not escape fate, however, which he merited, being waylaid and assassinated within a few leagues of his own territory." Bernier's Travels, p. 104.

else. We have come to take him away." Sipihr Sukoh was seated knee to knee with his father.[1] The hump-backed Nazar, casting his venom-spouting glance at Sipihr Shukoh, said, "Get up". At this Sipihr Shukoh losing his senses and clung to his father's legs. Father and son hugged at each other tightly and began to weep, crying "Alas! alas!" In a harsh and threatening tone the slaves said to Sipihr Shukoh; "Get up: otherwise we shall drag you away", and they started to lay hands on him to snatch him off. Dara Shukoh wiped off his tears, turned towards the slaves, and said, "Go and tell my brother to leave his innocent nephew here." The slaves in reply said, "We are not anybody's message-bearer; we must

1 The Khuda Baksh Library Ms. of Tarikh-i-Shujai has the word "*badwaz*" meaning flying. The India Office Ms, reads *bar-jushtah bar do-zanuvi nishast;* "*bar do-zanuvi*" does not exactly mean kneeling down (in humility). This is a mode of sitting as opposed to sitting cross-legged. Sitting on knees with legs back is still the usual mode of sitting particularly in the presence of a superior. The Khuda Baksh Ms. seems to be more accurate; because flying or shrinking back suits the context better.

carry out our orders." And saying these words they rushed forward, and forcibly tore him away from his father's embrace. When Dara realised that this was his last moment, he tore open a pillow and took out a small pen-knife which he had kept concealed there. He turned to the slave who was advancing to seize him and drove this small knife with such force into the wretch's side that it stuck fast in the bone. Though the prince tried to take it out, he did not succeed. Then Dara Shukoh dealt some blows with his fist right and left. At length they made a rush at him in a body and overpowered him. The agonising shriek of Sipihr Shukoh, who was in a neighbouring room, continued to reach the ears of Dara Shukoh when they were engaged in finishing their bloody work."[1] The author of *Tarikh-i-Shujai*, prone to pious credulity like his countrymen, adds: "this sinner has heard that after the work

[1] Masum, India Office Ms., 144 b, 145 a; translated in the Hist. of Aurangzib, I & II, p. 548-549.

was finished, the head of prince Dara Shukoh repeated aloud the "*kalima-i-Shahadat*" (Muslim confession of faith) which was heard by people."[2]

The severed head of Dara was at once taken to Aurangzib, who ordered it to be placed in a dish and washed clean of blood. When he was fully satisfied that it was the head of Dara, he exclaimed, "Ah *Bad-bakht*! I did not look at the face of this apostate from religion when alive; nor shall I do so now". Next morning (31st August, 1659) the dead body of Dara was placed on the back of an elephant and taken along the road of every bazar and lane of the city of Delhi. The bystanders wept at the ghastly spectacle. On that day the kotwal held an investigation into the previous day's riot and attack on Malik Jiwan. Haibat, an *ahadi* (gentleman trooper) of the Guards, who had instigated his fellow citizens to be avenged on the traitor, was sentenced by Aurangzib to a most cruel

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2 *Ibid.*

death. He was sawn alive into two halves with unexampled barbarity.

Manucci, a violent partisan of Dara, relates an anecdote of doubtful authenticity about Aurangzib's treatment of the head of the murdered prince. He says that at the suggestion of Raushanara Begam the severed head was enbalmed, enclosed in a box, and sent under the guise of a present to Shah Jahan from his son Aurangzib. The captive Emperor ignorant of its contents received the packet with the remark that it was at least some consolation to him that his usurping son had not forgotten him altogether. But when the packet was opened the old Emperor fell into a swoon, and Jahanara rent the prison-chamber of her father with shrieks of agony (*Storia*, ii.)

Though such an act was not perhaps too atrocious to be credited to the character of Aurangzib, it cannot be accepted as historically authentic; because no other writer, European or Indian, corroborates Manucci's tale. All the contemporary

chroniclers as well as later historians affirm that the severed head of Dara was joined to its trunk, and, that his last remains were borne to the tomb of Humayun and consigned to a grave under its vault, unwashed and un-prayed for.

A martyr to Love, human and divine, a heroic soul that stood for peace and concord among mankind, and the emancipation of the human intellect from the shackles of blind authority and dogma, Muhammad Dara Shukoh merely justified in life and death the inscrutable "ways of God to man".

CHAPTER XII.

AURANGZIB AND THE FAMILY OF DARA SHUKOH

SECTION 1.—THE FATE OF SULAIMAN SHUKOH

On being deserted by Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, Dilir Khan and other imperial officers, Sulaiman Shukoh began a retreat from Kora (4th June, 1658) to Allahabad. His large and victorious army had melted away, and only about 6000 men remained with him under Dara's trusty officer Baqi Beg. Sulaiman left his heavy baggage, golden palanquin and other parapharnelia of royalty, and the surplus women of his harem in the fort of Allahabad in charge of a brave officer named Sayyid Hashim Barah. His project was to make a wide loop round Delhi and join his father at Lahor by easily making his way through the unguarded sub-montane districts of Saharanpur and Ambala. He crossed the Ganges on 14th June, and

marching *via* Lucknow and Moradabad reached Nagina, where he intended to recross the river to its right bank. But the people were hostile and the boats at every ferry rowed away to the other side of the river at the approach of his army. He proceeded further up the river and made a halt at Chandi, opposite Hardwar, waiting for his officer Bhawanidas, who had been sent to Rajah Prithvi Singh of Srinagar to negotiate for help. But this halt proved fatal. Aurangzib had sent an army under Shaista Khan to cut off Sulaiman's projected retreat to the Panjab and hold him back at Hardwar. A dashing officer named Fidai Khan, who was moving far ahead of the main army of Shaista Khan, received a letter from the Rajah of Kumaun, apprising him of the presence of Sulaiman Sukoh opposite Hardwar. From Puth, southeast of Hapur, Fidai Khan rode 160 miles in one day, and with only 50 men reached Hardwar.

The clamour of Sulaiman's soldiers, particularly the Sayyids of Barha who

now trembled for the safety of their homes and families, distracted the poor prince. With only 2,000 men he entered the territory of the Rajah of Srinagar, who promised him a safe refuge on condition of his dismissing his troops. Baqi Beg, who had so long been the Mentor of the young prince, had breathed his last on the way to Srinagar. Young Sulaiman left without an adviser, committed errors of judgment and played into the hands of traitors in his own retinue. He was deceived by a forged letter purporting to have been written by his commandant of the Allahabad fort, and intimating the news of the arrival of Shuja near Allahabad. Leaving the protection of the Rajah, Sulaiman came down with his faithless followers to Nagina, where in one day all but 700 of his men deserted him. Next day, when he decided to return to the hills, only 200 men were willing to follow him there; and his pursuers were also close upon him. At last with his wife and a few other ladies, his foster-brother Muhammad

Shah and seventeen followers, the miserable prince threw himself upon the protection and honour of the Rajah of Srinagar.

Aurangzib sat ill at ease on the usurped throne of Delhi so long as he could not secure the person or procure the death of Sulaiman Shukoh, a prince more capable of ruling than his father, and the most beloved of Shah Jahan's grandchildren. He had sent the arch-traitor Rajah Rajrup against Prithvi Singh in July 1659, and for more than a year, the God-fearing and brave Rajput chief of Srinagar, who remembered with gratitude Dara's services to him in 1656, successfully defended both his territory and his guest. The Rajah was all kindness and generosity to the fugitive prince whom he is said to have given a daughter in marriage. Aurangzib, impatient of slow progress of arms, now took to diplomacy, and asked Mirza Rajah Jai Singh's help in this matter. The Rajah, who was then staying at court, wrote friendly letters to Prithvichand advising him to save him-

self from inevitable ruin by surrendering Sulaiman Shukoh. Having failed to seduce the old chief of Srinagar, Jai Singh turned to intrigue with his all powerful Brahmin minister. The minister, finding it impossible to induce his master to part with the fugitive prince, gave a deadly poison to Sulaiman in the form of medicine, which the cautious prince first experimented on a cat. On being informed of this heinous attempt of his minister, the Rajah immediately beheaded the scoundrel. Jai Singh next plotted with the Rajah's son Medini Singh, instigating him to play the Aurangzib towards his father. It was the fate of Dara to be betrayed especially by those who owed most to him. Medini Singh all but imprisoned his father and arranged for the surrender of the fugitives to Jai Singh's men (*Masum's Tarikh-i-Shujai*).

But according to the official account, as given by the authors of *Alamgir-nama* and *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, it was Prithvichand, who of his own accord wrote a letter to Jai Singh, intimating his willing-

ness to surrender Sulaiman, if Mirza Rajah would intercede with the Emperor for forgiving his remissness. The Emperor pardoned the offences of the chief of Srinagar at the request of Jai Singh, whom the Emperor asked to send his son Ram Singh to Srinagar for bringing away Sulaiman Shukoh. On the 27th. December, 1660, Prithvi Singh sent down the hill the captive prince accompanied by his son Medini Singh. This news reached the Emperor on 29th. December and on this day Jai Singh was presented with a jewelled *turah*. On 2nd January, 1661, Kunwar Ram Singh, Tarbiyat Khan, Radandaz Khan and other imperial mansabdars brought with them the captive prince. He was lodged with Muhammad Sultan, eldest son of Aurangzib, who had been imprisoned in Salimgarh for having joined his uncle Shujah.

Three days after (5th January 1661), from the prison-fortress of Salimgarh, Sulaiman Shukoh, a captive in chains, was conducted to the presence of

Aurangzib in the Private Audience Hall of Delhi. Looking every inch a prince even in his misery, he behaved with much self-possession. He boldly said to his uncle that he would prefer instant death to being made to drink the decoction of poppy seeds in the Gwalior prison. Aurangzib, who was outwardly compassionate and tender to Sulaiman, loudly and with solemnity promised that *post* water should never be given to him. Sulaiman was removed to the state-prison of Gwalior (15th Jan. 1661).[1] Aurangzib

1 Alamgir-nama (pp. 600-602), and Maasir-i-Alamgiri (p. 33) are silent on the intrigue of Aurangzib through Jai Singh against the Rajah of Srinagar for securing the person of Sulaiman Shukoh. All non-official accounts such as those of Masum (157b-159b), Tavernier (vol. i. 290-92), Bernier (378-380), and Manucci i. 105) establish beyond doubt the fact that Aurangzib employed Jai Singh in this affair. Masum's account of Sulaiman's life in Srinagar and his surrender is fullest and most graphic (Ms. 153b-159b). Tavernier says that Brahmins brought pressure on the Rajah of Srinagar to surrender the fugitive prince. Bernier also holds that "the intrigues of Jai Singh, the promises and threats of Aurangzib . . . shook the resolution of this pusillanimous protector." We read nowhere except in Masum's Tarikh-i-Shujai the attempt of the minister of Prithvichand to poison Sulaiman, and Medini Singh's usurpation of authority in Srinagar. Nevertheless his version

meant anything but what his tongue had uttered in the Diwan-i-Khas. Sulaiman was given the much-dreaded drink of opium-seed water for a year· but his youthful vitality proving too strong for this slow poison, he was strangled to death under Aurangzib's orders and buried by the side of Murad Bakhsh, similarly done away with in that dismal prison. Thus at the age of thirty the promising career of Sulaiman Shukoh came to a violent close.

Of the unfortunate children of Sulaiman Shukoh, a daughter named Salima Banu was brought up and adopted as her own child by Gauhar-ara Begum. In the month of Muharram, 1082 A.H. (June, 1662) Salima Banu was married to Prince Muhammad Akbar. Another daughter of Sulaiman Shukoh was married to Khawajah Bahauddin in 1678 A.D. (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 118, 166).

appears to be quite accurate. We believe the old Rajah of Srinagar was no party to the affair of the betrayal of Sulaiman into the hands of Aurangzib.

SECTION 2.—FATE OF OTHER CHILDREN OF DARA.

Snatched from the last embrace of Dara, Sipihr Shukoh had been sent away a prisoner to Gwalior soon after the murder of his father. After twelve years' prison life in Gwalior his lot became a little better. Under instructios from the Emperor, Multafat Khan brought him to Delhi and lodged him in prison-tower of Salimgarh on the 8th December 1672. Sipihr Shukoh was introduced to the Emperor on the 16th December, and was given in marriage, Zubdat-un-nisa, a daughter of Aurangzib (30th January, 1673). The only male issue of this wedlock was Ali Tabar (born on 13th July, 1676), who did not live for more than six months. We hear nothing more of Sipihr Shukoh in the official histories of Aurangzib's reign.[2]

Two daughters of Dara born of Nadira Banu, who had been taken prisoner along with their father and

[1] See *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 121, 124, 125, 154.

second brother, were brought to Delhi and at first sent to the harem of Aurangzib for being looked after. But at the entreaty of Shah Jahan and Jahanara, they were sent to Agra to reside with them. The elder of the two, Jani Begam,[1] grew up an exceptionally beautiful and accomplished woman and was married to Muhammad Azam, the second son of Aurangzib.

[1] An exploit of her sheds the last gleam of romantic interest on the tragic tale of Dara. See Sir J. N. Sarkar's Hist. of Aurangzib iv, pp. 301-2. An independent and more detailed account of Anurudh Singh Hada's rescue of Jani Begum from hands of the Marathas is found in the *Vamsa-bhaskar*. The two accounts differ in minor details. (Vamsabhaskar, p. 2869-71).

CHAPTER XIII.

DARA AND A HINDU ASCETIC.

Baba Lal was a *Chatri* (Kshatriya) by caste, born in Malwa during the reign of Jahangir (1605—1627). He was a follower of Chetan Swami, who was a great saint with many miracles to his credit. It is said that one day Chetan Swami begged of Baba Lal some rice and fuel in alms, lighted a fire between his legs, and held with his feet a pot in which rice was being boiled. Seeing this miracle Baba Lal prostrated himself before the saint and accepted him as his *guru* (spiritual guide). He received from his *guru* a grain of cooked rice, which, when eaten revealed to him at once the mysteries of the whole universe. He followed Chetan Swami to Lahor, where one day the saint, in order to test the progress of his disciple in *yoga*, ordered him to bring some *gopi-chandan* (whitish earth, sacred to Vaishnavas) from Dwaraka in the Kathiawad Peninsula,

several hundred miles distant from Lahor. Baba Lal, it is said, having completed the long journey returned with *gopi-chandan* from Dwaraka in less than an hour; whereupon his *guru* gave him leave to part from him and settle independently as a master. He took up his abode at Dyanpur near Sarhind. Here he built a hermitage for himself and began to initiate people in his own creed, which consisted in the worship of one God without form or any exterior cult. His system drew much from the Vedanta philosophy and Sufism. His followers called themselves Baba Lalis: and among those who followed his doctrine was Prince Dara Shukoh.[1]

Baba Lal was staying at Kotal Mehran,[2] a suburb of the city of Lahor, when Dara Shukoh halted there on his journey back to Court from the unsuccessful siege of Qandahar (22nd November, 1653). During three weeks of Dara's

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1 Garcin de Tassy, i. 94-96; *Asiatic Researches*, xvii., p. 296 ff.

2 Kotal Mehran is undoubtedly "Kui Miran", a suburb of the city of Lahor (*Lahore District Gaz*. 1884, p. 192).

halt at Lahor (till about the middle of December, 1653), a very interesting religious discourse took place between the Prince and the Hindu ascetic in the house of Rai Chandrabhan Brahman, situated in Niyula.[2] This discourse continued for nine days with two *majlis* or sittings a day. The conversations were held in Urdu, and these were, it seems noted down by Rai Jadhavdas[3] in a copy book. Afterwards the whole thing was rendered into Persian by Rai Chandrabhan (*munshi*), and published under the title *Nadir-ul-Nukat.* As regards the nature of this religious discourse the great French critics,

2 Niyula seems to be that quarter of the city of Lahor which is now known as Naulakha. Its situation is thus noticed in the *Lahore District Gazetteer*: "Some distance north of the Mall and separated from it by an open and still desolate tract, lies the Railway station forming centre of a colony of bungalows. . . . . This part of the station is known as Naulak (Naulakha). This part of the station once formed a part of the ancient city." (*Ibid.*, p. 164).

3 Prof. Wilson calls him Jadu Das. According to Prof. Wilson's authority this interview took place 1649 (*vide* Garcin de Tassy, i. 96), which is clearly a mistake. This dialogue, *Nadir-ul-Nukat* was translated into Urdu under the title *Risalah-i-usulah u ajubah-i-Dara Shukoh*. (Garcin de Tassy, vol. i., p. 96).

Huart and Massignon justly remark: "These dialogues, which appear to have really taken place towards the end of the year 1063 A.H. (1653 A.D.) have not the polemical and formal character of official conferences, organised among the representatives of rival religions at the court of the Sassanides. These are questions put by the prince in full sympathy and confidence to the ascetic whom he respects, and who replies to him as to a friend. Though the subjects approached belong to the most varied domains of the traditional civilisation of India . . . . . the most original passages are those in which Dara Shukoh tries to make Baba Lal analyse in Hindu terms his own religious experience as a Muhammadan. . . . . ."[1] Elsewhere the same critics observe: "As regards the ascetic Baba Laldas . . . we have been able to notice in the curious remark that Dara made about him (in his *Shatahat*, Urdu translation Lahor, p. 144), that he was a *mundiya* (a shaven-headed monk) and

1 *Journal Asiatique*, 1926 (Oct.-Decr).

that he was attached to the sect of Kabirpanthis. Thus then, it is still the great shadow of Kabir that has protected this germ of reconciliation between Hinduism and Islam generously sown by him in the 15th century. At this moment when the unity of India depends on a new attempt at the mutual comprehension of the two spiritual elements, attention can legitimately be paid to the figures of Baba Lal and Dara."[1]

Kabir has undoubtedly been the great fountain-head of inspiration to succeeding generations of religious reformers and great thinkers from Akbar to Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath, men who have preached the gospel of concord and love to humanity, who attempt at bridging the gulf between race and race, creed and creed. But it is difficult to accept even on the authority of Dara himself that Baba Lal was a Kabirpanthi out and out. There is no doubt that Baba Lal, who originally started his ascetic life as a *Hot-yogin* (a

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1 *Ibid.*

sect given to the practice of stiff physical postures or *asanas* for working miracles —became afterwards a mystic, upholding like Kabir, the worship of one absolute God without form, and singing God's praises and his own spiritual experiences in popular Hindi verses. But Baba Lal did not, as the following extracts from the Dialogue will show, share Kabir's contempt for book-lore and *yoga* practices, nor did he, like Kabir, condemn fiercely idol worship and the externals of religions.

It is a great misfortune that the Persian text of this interesting Dialogue, *Nadir-ul-Nukat*, has come down to us only in mutilated and corrupt transcriptions. As the Dialogue reveals the inner man, a few extracts in translation from the published text will not be out of place here.

1. *Q.* What is the difference between *Nād* and the *Veda*?

A. It is the same difference that holds between the sovereign who orders and the order decreed by him. The one is Nād, the other the Veda.

2\. *Q*. What is the light of the moon, what is the black spot in it, and what is the cause of its whiteness?

A. The moon by itself has no brightness; it is an absolutely colourless object on which the rays of the sun fall; its whiteness is the reflection of the seas and its black spot is the land of this earth.

3\. *Q*. If it be a matter of reflection, why is it not equally seen on the sun?

A. The sun is like a globe of fire, while the moon is like a globe of water; reflection is formed in water but not in fire.

6\. *Q*. What is the cult of idols among the Hindus? Who has prescribed it?

A. This observance has been established in order to strengthen the heart. He who has known the reality of things is excused for that reason with respect to the external form; but when one has not the knowledge of the inmost reality, one remains attached to the external form. It is the same with the unmarried girls who play with dolls; once married, they abstain from it thenceforth; this being a sort of idol-worship. So long as one has not gone to the bottom of it

(*batin*), one is attached to the external form ; since when one knows the inner meaning, one does away with it.

11. *Q*. What distinction is there between the Creator and the creature? I had put this question to some, who replied to me by a comparison of their difference to that which exists between a tree and its seed. Is it so or otherwise?

A. The Creator is like the ocean and the creature like a jug full of water. Although the water is the same in the jug and the ocean, there is a very great difference between the two recipients. It is thus that the Creator is creator and the creature is creature.

12. *Q*. What is *Paramātmā*, and what is *Jivātmā*? How again does the *Jivatma* become (one with) *Paramatma*?

A. Wine ~~comes from~~ water : but if it be poured on earth, the impurities, the intoxication and the pollution which it contains are left on the surface ; whereas the water will penetrate into the ground, and will remain pure water. It is the same with the man who is still the *Jivātmā ;* if he abandons along with his existence the sediments of the five senses, then will he rejoin God.

13\. *Q.* What is the difference between the *Jivātmā* and the *Paramātmā*?

A. There is no difference at all in essence.

14\. *Q.* Then, how is it that punishment and reward do apparently exist?

A. It is the mark which is imprinted by the mould of the body; thus it is with the Ganges and the water of the Ganges.

15\. *Q.* What is the difference marked out by this example

A. This difference is many-sided and unlimited. In fact, if the water of the Ganges passes into a jug and if a drop of wine falls into it, all the water of the jug is considered polluted as wine; whereas on the contrary if a hundred thousand jugs of wine were poured into the Ganges, the Ganges would always be the Ganges. It is thus that the *Paramātmā* is perfect purity; while an *ātmā* (*Jivātmā*) is coloured by the existence of here below; if it renounces this abode then the *ātmā* becomes the *Paramātmā*. But so long as it dwells in this existence, it will always remain an *ātmā* (*Jivātmā*).

19\. *Q.* It is indicated in the books of the Hindus that those who happen to die in Benares (Kāshi) are sure to attain to salvation.

If it be so, one may wonder that there there is equality between the fate of those who persist in asceticism and of sinners.

A. Truly speaking, Kashi is the confirmation of one's life. He who becomes confirmed in life (eternal) is sure to find *mukti* (salvation).

20 *Q*. Because every man has received life, will therefore every man obtain salvation?

A. With the exception of a *Mahapurukha,* no one becomes confirmed in life (existence), but only gets rooted in desires. And desire is (something) different from real life (*khwaish āz wuzud alāhidāh āst*). desire leads man to desire and thus deprives him of salvation.

26. *Q*. If it becomes known that I always at heart prefer the (the garb) of a *faqir,* men for their advancement in dignity may put on the dress of a *darwish;* but ultimately their real nature will come out, and this will affect their hearts severely. A king should abstain from it.

A., No one will ever be successful in closing a path (*i.e.* the wearing of the ascetic robe), by which the men of God pass; just as a man who goes on collecting pebbles with the hope of discovering perchance the philosopher's stone [can-

not be dissuaded from doing so indiscriminately]. Moreover, the *darwish,* who comes to the assembly in the dress of a darwish acquires great merit ; when he takes leave to depart, men render him services and adore him greatly, and this is itself a recompense.

32. *Q.* According to the Hindu idea, it is in the valley of Birj (Brindaban) that the genuine figure (*surat-i-khas*) of Shri Krishna reveals itself to the shepherdesses (*gopis*). Does this mysterious appearance suit men or not?

A. This apparition will not suit those who are attached to worldly life ; because if they cast their glance on that genuine figure, they will die and get punishment instead of reward. Amongst the *faqirs*, those who have all their desires suppressed in their body so well that their hearts on no account move in any direction, are only fit to stand it.

39. *Q.* It is sometimes said that in Divine union one attains the Essence (*Zāt*).[1] How can it be said that this union obtains Divine essence?

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[1] This question relates to the highest Sufistic realisation," I am God". Baba Lal's reply to it also conforms to the usual Sufistic commentary on it.

A. When one reddens a piece of iron in the fire and it takes the colour of fire, it behaves like fire.

41\. *Q.* It is a custom that when Muhammadans die, they are buried and Hindus are burnt; but when a *darwish*[2] in the cloak of a Hindu breathes his last (*dar burqa-i-Hindu*), what will be done to him?

A. First of all, to be buried or burnt is an alternative regarding material existence. Now, the *darwish* does not care for his body, which he has abandoned in order to plunge himself in the ocean of joy found in the realisation of God. He leaves the sphere of material existence (*hasti*) only to be exalted to a lasting abode in that which has no material existence (*nisti*). Like a serpent which enters its hole without any thought of its worn out skin left behind, the *darwish* cares no more for his body; let people do whatsoever they like with it.

42\. *Q.* A man said to me: "Do less of evil." I

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[2] It should be noted in this Dialogue that the words, *derwish* and *faqir*, have nowhere been used to mean exclusively Muslim *faqirs*. They have been used as in this passage to signify the "men of God" of every creed.

asked him: "What does it signify, less of evil (*kam āzār*)?" He replied: "Little of evil (*andak azar*)." I said: "To do evil is to do evil, no matter of what degree it is." How can it be measured?

A. We cannot injure him who is greater or stronger than we are. He who is of equal strength can retaliate. But we should not do any injury to him who is weaker; this is what is indicated by the advice, "Do less of evil."

43. *Q.* Free Will is God (*ma'bud-i-haqiqi*); it is also said in the books that every one is endowed with Free Will. How can we accept it?

A. Free Will is God, whose sovereignty is sublime. It is also in all that exist.

44. *Q.* How can we be assured of it in both cases?

A. When the child was still within the womb of his mother, Free Will in him was Divine Providence that protected him, and nourished him in all his development; there being no other person at that time. Once the child is ushered into the world half of Free Will is that which out of grace and kindness for creatures begets milk in the mother's breast (*i.e.* remains with God); the

other half passes on to the child; because, when the child weeps, his mother becoming aware of it, suckles him. When the child is grown up and becomes familiar with the cravings of the flesh, and occupies himself in doing things, good and bad, he himself becomes this *free will*; because God is above good and bad.

53. *Q.* What does the heart signify?

A. The heart is meant to say "I" and "You"; that is to say, the duality arising out of (the affirmation of) two: because the heart takes the mind (*arua*, lit. souls) to every direction, towards father, mother brother, wife and children—to whom it becomes attached. We must know that attachment between two comes from the heart.

54. *Q.* What is the appearance of the heart which cannot be seen? (*Surat-i-dil che-ist ke dar nazar na-me-ayaid*).

A. The appearance of the heart is like that of a breath of wind.

55. *Q.* How can it be known?

A. Just as the wind uproots trees although it remains invisible to our eyes, in the same manner does the heart throw into commotion the five senses (*hawas-i-khams*); it is in us and yet not visible

to our eyes. It is thus that the appearance of the heart is like that of a breath of wind.

65. *Q.* What is the function of the heart?

A. The heart is the broker (*dalal*) of our mind.

57. *Q.* How can it be known?

A. From the shop of five senses—which are called *"Indriyan"* in Hindi—it secures the pleasures of the world, and takes them to the mind, and the mind itself becomes enamoured of the seductions of these pleasures. It is thus that the heart procures goods from the shop for the buyer, and having received a commission steps aside; gain or loss falls on the buyer or the seller. In this way it acts as a broker and herein lies its [function.]

61. *Q.* What is called the sleep of the *faqirs*?

A. It is the sleep which a man goes into, leaving behind him every desire of the world, and shaking himself free from the "You" and "I"; and during sleep no worldly object appears to him in dream. The sleep of *faqirs* is perhaps ...called *Jog-nidra* in Hindi, because it is free from the coming and going from this world which is liberation (*mukti*).

63. *Q.* What is the "awakening" (*bedari*) in

which the animals, vegetables, minerals, etc. accomplish the four stages (of their evolution)?

A. It is called the "complete revolution of the universe" (*gardish-i-falak*): The universe (is a body) of which the head is the north; the feet, the south; the eyes, the sun and the moon; the bones, the mountains and stones; the skin, the earth; the pulse, the oceans; the blood, the waters of seas and fountains, the bushes and forests are its hair, and its ear is the sky.

64. *Q*. The sky is single, whereas ears are two. Why?

A. The two ears hear only one single word.

CHAPTER XIV.

DARA SHUKOH AND THE CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM SAINTS

SECTION 1.—PRINCE DARA AND MULLA SHAH BADAKHSHI

Mulla Shah Muhammad, known also by the epithet of Lisan-Ullah, was the son of Mulla Abd Muhammad, the Qazi of Arksa, a place near Rustak in Badakhshan. Attracted by the fame of the great Sufi Mian Mir of Lahor, he came to India in 1614 and became his disciple. After the death of Mian Mir, which took place on the 7th Rabi I. A.H. 1045 (August 21, 1636) Mulla Shah went with his disciples to live permanently in Kashmir. Drunk to madness with divine love, he is said to have broken loose from the *shariyat*, and let himself adrift in the dangerous waters of *ma'arifat* (gnosticism) which, they say, landed him on the benighted shores of Infidelity (*kufr*). However, among the disciples of Mian Mir, none equalled him in piety, no

scholar of his age enjoyed greater reputation for learning, and none among the contemporary authors—perhaps with the exception of Dara Shukoh—employed his pen more usefully for the propagation of spiritual knowledge than did Mulla Shah Badakhshi.[1]

To him the enlightened and accomplished prince Dara Shukoh turned for spiritual illumination and also for formal initiation into the Qadiriya order of Sufism. Tawakkul Beg, who was also a disciple of Mulla Shah, tells us that it was not without considerable difficulty that the Prince could induce the saint to accept him as a disciple

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1 For biographical notices, Rieu, ii. 690-91; Bodl Catalogue, col. 209; Oriental Public Library Catalogue, iii. 1112. Rieu reads Mulla Idi in place of Mulla Abd Muhammad, and Ark in place of Arksa (*vide* Oriental Public Library Catalogue, iii. 112). The most contemporary accounts are those in Dara's *Sakinat-ul-auliya*, and Tawakkul Beg's Biography of Mulla Shah. Next comes the Dabistan and *Mirat-ul-khiyal* (p. 198). Some of the works of Mulla Shah: *Tafsir-i-Shah* a commentary on the Quran; *Risalah-i- Bismillah; Risalah-i-Shahiya, Gazls* and *Rubais* collected in a *Kulliyat; Tazkira-i-Sha'ra-i-maa'rifan*, a prose work. (See Oriental Public Library Catalogue, iii. 113).

in 1050 A.H. (1640 A.D.)[1] during his visit to Kashmir. Mulla Shah had gained spiritual illumination by hard devotional and ascetic exercises; but on his pupils he imposed no such stern discipline or long course of prayer and meditation. "For his own pupils", says Tawakkul Beg, "he had discovered a simpler and shorter course in which he used his will and personality to open, as the phrase is, the knot of their hearts".[2] This process of opening the knot of heart appears to have been a sort of hypnotic "suggestion" to stimulate at first an emotional religiosity in a neophyte, and next instruct him in the doctrine of union with God. Dara had, says Tawakkul Beg, "the greatest difficulty in prevailing on Mulla Shah to operate on him . . . . . Fatima,[1] a sister of Dara Shukoh, who had a long correspondence with the master,

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[1] It is very apparent Mr. Macdonald has mistaken a common complimentary epithet, *Fātima-uz-zamani*, (the Fatima of her age) for the name of princess Jahanara, eldest daughter of Shah Jahan. (*The religious attitude and life in Islam*, p. 205).

was initiated by her brother acting for him: passed through all the normal visions, attained to pure union with God and intuitive perception. Mulla Shah said of her; "She has attained to so extraordinary a development of mystical knowledge that she is worthy of being my representative". She thus describes some of her experiences; 'I seated myself, then, in a corner with my face turned toward Mecca, and concentrated all my mind on the image of the master, calling up at the same time, in my imagination, the personal description of the most holy Prophet. Occupied with this contemplation, I arrived in a state of my soul in which I neither slept nor waked, and then I saw the holy company of the Prophet and his four friends. . . . . I also perceived Molla Shah; he was seated near the Prophet, upon whose feet his head lay, while the Prophet said to him, 'O Mulla Shah, for what reason did you illumine that Timuri?'

. . . . . God be praised, who, through the particular attention of the holy

master, has accorded to me, a poor woman, the gift of conceiving in the most complete manner, of the absolute Being, as I have always ardently desired. Whoever does not possess the knowledge of the absolute Being is not a man—he belongs to those of whom it is said, 'They are the brutes, and more ignorant still.' Every man who has attained this supreme felicity becomes, through this fact itself, the most accomplished and the most noble of beings and his individual existence is lost in the absolute existence; he becomes like a drop in the ocean, a mote in the sunshine, an atom over against totality. Arrived in this state, he is above death, future punishment, the Garden and the Fire. Whether he is man or woman, he is always the most perfect being . . . . ."[1]

The experiences of Jahanara must have also been the experience of Dara Shukoh, kindred souls and disciples of the same master as they were. But Dara went further than Jahanara, and carried to its

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 205.

logical extreme the doctrine of absolute unity which emboldened him to proclaim openly that he was a *Khud-parast* or worshipper of Self. The influence of Mulla Shah on the moral and spiritual life of Dara was very great, and the master and the disciple lived on terms of most affectionate intimacy. The Prince in his book *Hasant-ul-Arifin* tells us much about his *Pir's* learned interpretations of Quranic verse; 'O you who believe, don't you approach the prayer when you are drunk,' (*Quran*, iv. 43). 'If the drunkenness is earthly, the prayer is forbidden in order that it may not be vitiated out of respect for the prayer. If the intoxication is that of the Reality, it is forbidden to approach the prayer, out of respect for the intoxication.' Similarly, the explanation which Mulla Shah has given of the terms "believer" and "infidel" is at once subtle and most liberal. He says that the true believer is the infidel who has attained to God, who has seen Him and known Him; the infidel is a *believer* (imandar) who has not attained to God, whom he has not

seen nor known."[1] This is also a humourous home-thrust at those who either by birth or by reciting the confession of the creed arrogate to themselves the appellation of "Believers".

Mulla Shah was not only a man of wide intellectual outlook but also a pantheist of sublime imagination and humanitarian tendencies. He retained to the last the allegiance of his restless princely disciple, who had a fascination for the new, and who made almost equally intimate acquaintances with several other saints. In the preface to his last literary production, *Sirr-i-Asrar* or the Persian translation of the *Upanishads*, Dara makes a grateful acknowledgment of his debt to his master who inspired him in his search for the doctrine of *Tauhid* (Unity of God) in non-Islamic Scriptures.

Out of what was undoubtedly a considerable mass of correspondence between Dara and Mulla Shah only two letters[2]

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1 *Hasanat-ul-Arifin*, Persian text, p. 21-24; p. 31-32.

2 Though *two* letters of Mulla Shah have been printed on pp. 23-24, and pp. 31-32, they seem to be one and the same

have come down to us; one written by Dara to his *Pir* on the occasion of his getting the title *Shah-i-Buland-iqbal* and the other written by Mulla Shah giving the prince some instructions in spiritual matters. Mulla Shah writes: "May he attain the bliss of vision (Beatific). May the lamp of the heart of the enlightened ones be safe from the breath of enemies. You may have heard that secrets should be concealed from outsiders; do keep them secret. It may be known to you that one should be less inspired in the company of those who have less of the grace of God; do not warm up too much. It is no secret to you that in carrying a work to completion, one must take pains; do exert yourself. He who is sincere-hearted in this work is surely a lover, and he who is a lover is worthy of the blessing of the vision (Beatific). The perfect man (*Insan-i-Kamil*) is he, who is not reprehended by any body whether common people, or in-

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letter; but the difference in reading being very great, we have given the texts of both letters, coming through different Mss.

timates of the inner and innermost circle; that is to say, (He is the perfect man) who does not omit the performance of any work enjoined either by the *sharryat* (the dogma of Islam), or by the *tarigat* the path of esoteric Islam), or by the *haqiqat* (the Truth). First comes Gnosis (*maarifat*) which is the effect (*asar*) of good company. The second (thing) is the concentration of the mind which is the result of self-control, and third comes *shariyat*, which means conformity with (the ways of) mankind in general. Inwardly every act (of ours) must conform to *haqiqat*; and outwardly all acts should be like those of people at large. Love those who hold similar views and shun the hypocrites."

The above letter is a severe comment on some of Dara's faults of character. Without taking into consideration the capacity and character of people, Dara would communicate indiscreetly great spiritual mysteries and practices to his readers and neophytes in general. He even boasts of his speaking without

ambiguity, of things which the former saints communicated only by subtle hints. Such incapacity to keep secrets, such injudicious candour was indeed a grave defect of Dara's character. Mulla Shah, however intoxicated with divine love he might be, was not altogether indifferent to the hard realities of the world to which he draws the attention of his less practical-minded pupil. He interpretes the *shariyat* as conformity with the (usages) mankind in general and not of Islam only. This is another way of restating Akbar's cardinal doctrine of religious policy i.e. *sulh-i-kul* (peace with all). It was the influence and admonition of Mulla Shah that restrained the prince from defying the Islamic *shariyat* more openly. Nevertheless, for having been a partisan of Dara, the saint was summoned from Kashmir to Aurangzib's presence to answer certain charges made against him by illiberal theologians of his age. "He went very reluctantly to Lahor and lived there in great distress and fear till his death; but all the while thanked God that his life

ended as it had begun in poverty. Here he died in 1661, and was buried close to his master, Mian Mir."[1]

SECTION 2.—DARA SHUKOH AND SHAIKH MUHIBBULLAH ALLAHABADI

Perhaps the boldest and most original thinker and writer among the contemporaries of Dara Shukoh was the famous Sufi, Shaikh Muhibb-ullah of Allahabad. The earliest notices of the Shaikh is to be found in *Mirat-ul-Khiyal* written by Sher Khan Lodi, son of Ali Ahmad Khan Lodi,[1] in the reign of Aurangzib. The Shaikh wrote a most difficult book on Sufism in Arabic, entitled "*Taswwid*", in which he argues that the *Gabriel* of the Prophet Muhammad *was within Muhammad himself*. Similarly, every prophet had his Gabriel within his ownself. *Gabriel* is not a winged angel but *a hidden spiritual power* (*quwwat-i-batini*). When this

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1 *Tarikh-i-Kāshmiri* by Azam, 121a-122; History of Aurangzib, iii., p. 94-95.

1 Bodleian Library Catalogue of Persian Mss. vol. i., 207. But *Mirat-ul-Khiyal* published in 1848, *Umdat-ul-Akhbar* Press, gives Ali Amzad Khan as Sher Khan's father's name.

power overwhelmed the prophets, *wahi* or revelation descended on them.

Soon after his appointment as the absentee viceroy of Allahabad (1645 A.D.), Dara wrote a letter to the Shaikh in which he says that the *subah* of Allahabad seemed particularly acceptable to him because of the presence of His Holiness within its jurisdiction. In the same letter Dara[2] requested the Shaikh to answer in detail 16 questions on Sufism. The Shaikh writes in reply a very long letter answering all the questions to the entire satisfaction of the prince. Dara wrote a second letter thanking the Shaikh for his pains and intimating his desire to exchange ideas with the Shaikh, if he received any encouragement from that quarter (*i.e.* from the Shaikh).

The author of *Mirat-u-Khiyal* says that when Muhibb-ullah's book happened to come to the notice of Aurangzib, he condemned it severely because, besides the

2 Dara to Shaikh Mahibb-ullah, *Dara Shukoh*, vol. ii., Pers. text, 1-2; reply of the Shaikh, *ibid.*, p. 3-8; second letter, 8-10.

above mentioned view of Gabriel, there were many subtle and ambiguous things difficult to comprehend and often running counter to the *shariyat*. Death had by this time placed the Shaikh beyond the reach of Aurangzib's vengeance. At last two disciples of the Shaikh living in retirement were discovered, and them Aurangzib called upon either to explain their master's book and reconcile its views with the dogmas of Islam, or if unable to do so, burn it to ashes. The disciples of Shaikh replied to Aurangzib that if His Majesty wished to burn the book, *Taswwid*, there was enough fire in the royal kitchen to consume it.[1]

SECTION 3.—DARA SHUKOH AND SHAH DIL-RUBA

Six letters[1] written by Dara Sukoh to Shah Dil-ruba are extant in a collection of letters, entitled *Fayyaz-ul-Qawanin*. They are the only reliable source of information regarding the saint and his relations with Dara. These letters were written by Dara

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1 *Mirat-ul-Khiyal*, Pers. text, p. 228-29.

1 Dara to Dil-ruba, Pers. text, p. 10-20.

in reply to letters *received* by him from the saint, which are unfortunately lost, perhaps for ever. These letters being without dates, it is very difficult to say exactly when the prince came into touch with Shah Dil-ruba through correspondence. In the first letter Dara writes: "Whenever I happen to be, whether at Agra or in Lahor, my heart remains enchained to thine." Dara invites the Shaikh to the Court in a letter; but the Shaikh probably did not visit the prince. The prince writes in another letter that he was very eager to meet him, and if he could, he would have travelled to the Shaikh's abode by making his head perform the functions of legs (*sar-ra qadam sakhtah*).[2]

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2 Dara to Dil-ruba, letter No. 2, Pers. text. It seems Dara approached Shah Dil-ruba with the sincere humility of a disciple after he had become a *murid* or disciple of Mulla Shah Badakshahi. This is borne out by some passages in the last letter (No. 6), wherein the prince says that he has referred certain points for elucidation to his *pir-i-dastgir*, meaning certainly Mulla Shah, and requests the saint to *send back* the table of his spiritual descent (*shijrā*) wrapped up in a letter. As Dara refers to Shah Dil-ruba in his book, *Hasanat-ul-Arifin*, written about 1656, they must have known each other considerably long before that date.

SECTION 4.—DARA SHUKOH AND SHAIKH MUHSIN FANI

Shaikh Muhsin Fani, "a traveller in the subtle path of Sufism" was, according to the author of *Mirat-ul-Khiyal*, an inhabitant of Kashmir, a man of culture, affluence and of pleasant manners. He acted for a time as the *Sadr* or Civil Judge of Allahabad in the reign of Shah Jahan. It is said that when Murad Bakhsh captured Balkh in July, 1646 (the capital of Nazar Muhammad Khan) there was found in the library of Nazar Muhammad Khan among other things a copy of *Diwan-i-Muhsin Fani* in praise of Nazar Muhammad. At this the Emperor Shah Jahan got angry with Muhsin Fani and deprived him of the office of Sadr, though he was given a yearly allowance sufficient for his maintenance. Since that time he used to live in Kashmir and soon became a spiritual teacher of high reputation. He built in the middle of a garden a square mansion with a *pucca* well (*Hauz*) adjacent to it—from which this house became known as the *Hauz-Khana*. At noon the Shaikh

used to sit there, and his disciples went to him one at a time for receiving instruction. The reputation of the Shaikh attracted to his fold a penitent courtezan named Nazi, matchless for her beauty even in Kashmir. The inevitable happened; and the Shaikh became fast entangled in the noose of Nazi's love. It is said that Jafar Khan, subahdar of Kashmir, had also become enamoured of Nazi, who, however, scorned his overtures and spurned at his rich presents. Jafar Khan wrote in retaliation some verses giving publicity to the scandal in the filthiest language, which with an apology, the author of *Mirat-ul-Khiyal* has quoted in his book.

Dara and Muhsin Fani picked up a friendship perhaps during one of the visits of the prince to Kashmir. The only evidence, hitherto available, of Muhsin Fani having been a contemporary and a friend of Dara is a letter[1] of the prince to Fani and Fani's reply to it. According to

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[1] For the correspondence between Dara and Muhsin Fani, Pers. text, p. 30-31; 32-33.

the author of *Mirat-ul-Khiyal*,[1] Muhsin Fani died in Kashmir in 1671 A.D. (1081 A.H.) nearly ten years after the murder of Dara. It should be noted here that the famous work *Dabistan-ul-muzahib*, which is commonly ascribed to Muhsin Fani, is

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1 Mirat-ul-Khayal (Lithoed. 1848; Umdat-ul Akhbar, Munshi Lachchman Prasad), p. 179-180.

2 Dr. Rieu says, 'Muhsin Fani, to whom it (*Dabistan-ul-Muzahib*) has generally been ascribed, is only named in some copies, as the author of a *Rubai* quoted at the beginning of work. (Translation, vol. i. p. 3). Our knowledge of the author is confined to facts gleaned from some passages in his work, in which he incidentally refers to himself. From these he appears to have been brought up in the faith of the Sipasis, also called Abadis, a branch of the Parsis.

The work was probably completed shortly after 1063 A.H., and certainly before A.H. 1068 for Dara Shukoh is spoken of in the last chapter xx vol. iii, p. 285, as being still at the height of his power. Although the author is nowhere explicitly named, it is not improbable that the name of Mubad, which appears in connection with some verses . . . . was his *takhallus* or poetical designation. Indeed Mubad Shah is named as the author in one of our copies . . . ." (Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum, i. 141-142).

We may only remark that Dr. Rieu is not perhaps quite justified in holding that the author of *Dabistan* was a Parsi; because in a certain passage the author says that he made a pilgrimage to Mecca, where he met a follower of the false prophet Musailama, and was asked by that man to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Musailama. Why should a Parsi make a pilgrimage to Mecca?

nowhere mentioned in the *Mirat-ul-Khiyal* as one of the works of Fani. This proves perhaps beyond a doubt that both Muhsin Fani, and the author of *Dabistan-ul-Muzahib*, though contemporaries and friends of Dara Shukoh, were not one and the same person. The author of *Dabistan*, who several times quotes Dara as an authority on Sufism, probably completed his work before the year 1658 A.D., because any event of a later date (such as the overthrow of Dara's power and execution of Sarmad) is not noticed in that book. Such being the case, the author of *Mirat-ul-Khayal* could have hardly omitted to include *Dabistan* among the works of Fani, if he had written any such book.

Section 5.—Dara Shukoh and Sarmad the Mystic

Sarmad is perhaps the pen-name of a Jew whose original name is not known, but who after his conversion to Islam received the name of Muhammad Said. Authorities differ on the nationality and parentage of Sarmad. The

author of *Dabistan-ul-Muzahib* written about 1657 A.D. says that Sarmad was a Jew. The author of *Mirat-ul-Khiyal*, (written during the reign of Aurangzib) asserts, we do not know on what authority, —that Sarmad was originally from Farangistan and was an Armenian; and Valih Daghistani, author of *Riaz-ush-Shaura*, written in the time of Emperor Muhammad Shah, gives Kashan as his native place. Even if Sarmad was an Armenian, he was not perhaps an Armenian Christian; because the author of *Dabistan* says that he derived his information of Jewish religion from Muhammad Said Sarmad, whom he met in Hyderabad Sind in 1057 (1647 A.D.), "who originally came of the learned of the Jews, from a sect who are known as Ribbani, and who (Sarmad), after learning the principles of Jewish faith and studying *Taurit* became a Musalman."[1]

Muhammad Said started his career as a merchant and came to Tatta (Sind)

[1] *Dabistan*, text, fol. 247b.

for trade. But there he fell in love with a *Baniya* boy named Abhaichand so violently that he lost the equilibrium of his mind altogether. Sarmad wooed the boy with much assiduity and made a god of him; he says in one of his verses, "I do not know if in this world my God is Abhaichand or some one else" (*khudâ-i-man Abhaichândâst yâ digar*). Abhaichand also became so much attached to him that he could not bear to live apart from him. Sarmad and Abhaichand after sometime left Tatta, and came during their wandering to the court of Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda. Being disappointed there they came to Delhi toward the close of Shah Jahan's reign and began to live there enjoying the devotion and patronage of Prince Dara Shukoh. The author of *Mirat-ul-Khiyal* says, "As Prince Dara Shukoh was inclined to the society of maniacs (*majânin*) he kept his (Sarmad's) company, and enjoyed his discourses for a considerable period."[1]

[1] *Mirat-ul-Khiyal*, p. 104.

But there is a plane of existence wherefrom saints like Sarmad whom the worldly-wise people call mad, think no better of the common run of men and hate to be called wise (*dânishmandân*). Dara Shukoh was still in the noose of scholasticism when he met the great saint who, having already enough of scholarship, had bidden adieu to it as useless in the path of God. Dara writes to Sarmad: "Master (*pir u murshid-i-man*), every day this humble self desires to go to you, but has not been successful. If 'I am I' (*agar man man-m*), why this annulment of my 'will'? And if I am not I, where is my remissness? If the murder of Imam Husain was the Will of God, then who is Yazid coming in between? And if it was not the will of God, what is the explanation of it? The Prophet goes to a fight with the kafirs, and defeat befalls the army of Islam; the *ulemas* of official Islam (*ulema-i-zahiri*) say that this is 'a lesson in patience' (*taalim-i-sabr*); but where is the necessity of a lesson (*taalim*)

to him who has reached the end (of spiritual progression).

The saint replied in a sentence that he had silenced the sciences he had once read. It is said that Sarmad used to pronounce only the negative part of the formula of Islam *i.e.* "There is no deity." If he was asked the reason of it he would say, "I am absorbed in the negative and have not yet come to the positive. Why shall I tell a lie?" Sarmad was really not an atheist, but a panthiest; but both being equally damnable in the eyes of orthodoxy, the *mullas* were only waiting for an opportunity to be avenged on the saint.

After Dara's murder, Sarmad with his boundless influence over the citizens of Delhi was looked upon by Aurangzib as politically dangerous. Besides, a charge of heresy and violation of Islamic ordinances was made out against him by the court theologians. Sarmad was given the alternative of either covering his

nudity or parting with his head. The saint chose the latter and died a true martyr's death welcoming the executioner and his naked sword with a smile and laying his head unmoved on the block. He is said to have uttered the following verse when the executioner's sword was about to descend on his saintly head:

> "There was an uproar, and we opened our eyes from the eternal sleep;
>
> We saw the night of wickedness still endured; and so we slept again.

Sarmad, who lost his head on a charge of heresay was canonised a saint by the people at large. His severed head, it is said, recited like that of Dara Shukoh the whole of the *Kalima,* a miracle which Valih Daghistani mentions on the authority of Khalifa Ibrahim Badakhshi, who perhaps heard it with his own ears! Sarmad's tomb, which lies east of the Jama Masjid of Delhi on the other side

of the road is even today a place of popular worship.[1]

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1 The major portion of this section is based on Moulvi Abdul Ali's article on Sarmad in J. A. S. B. 1924, p. 111 and following. For other references to Sarmad's life see *History of Aurangzib*, iii., p. 95 footnote.

Mr. B. A. Hashimi has recently contributed a learned article (to be continued) in the "*Islamic Culture*, October, 1933, pp. 663-672. He holds that the emigrant ancestors of Sarmad were European Jews who had migrated to Armenia, and that prior to his coming to India Sarmad lived in Kashan.

CHAPTER XV.

CHARACTER OF DARA SHUKOH

Section 1.—Dara and Aurangzib contrasted

"Dara . . . was a man of dignified manners, of a comely countenance, joyous and polite in conversation, ready and gracious of speech, of extraordinary liberality, kindly and compassionate, but over-confident in his own opinion of himself, considering him competent in all things, and having no need of advisers. Thus it was that his dearest friends never ventured to inform him of the most essential things. Still it was easy to discover his intentions."[1] The above remarks on the character of Dara from the friendly pen of Manucci are substantially borne out by the following words of the less sympathetic Bernier: "Dara was not deficient in good qualities: he was courteous in conversation, quick at repartee, polite and extremely liberal: but

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[1] Storia, i. 221.

he entertained too exalted an opinion of himself; believed he could accomplish everything by the powers of his own mind . . . . He was also very irascible; apt to menace, abusive and insulting even to great omrahs; but his anger was seldom more than momentary . . . . ."[2] Indeed it was notorious that Dara's thunder was not half as dreadful as the faint smile of Aurangzib.

The foregoing chapters, particularly those dealing with his political career, are an ample commentary on the defects of Dara's character. But his virtues were his own, while his weaknesses, which leaned only to virtue's side, were the unhappy accidents of a combination of circumstances. These defects are the more deplorable because of their conjunction with sterling merits and noble intentions; and they loom unreasonably large because of his failure in the field of politics and war. However, there was something in Dara's character which in

2 Constable, Bernier's Travels, p. 6.

spite of his weaknesses and indiscretion endeared him to all but his inveterate enemies. Long after the murder of Dara, Manucci during his tour through Bihar happened to meet at Patna a man named Abul Qasim, and their conversation having turned on the fate of the unfortunate prince, Abul Qasim sincerely regretted that he had no opportunity of testifying his love and devotion to the prince, though he had done him some wrong and injustice.

Prince Dara Shukoh is often pronounced as a failure in history. This is perhaps an injustice to Dara as well as an insult to the modern conception of history. History cannot but judge a man by the criterion of the sum-total of the good done by him to his own species. Judged by this standard, Aurangzib's half a century of barren rule was the most conspicuous failure in Indian history. Dara expiated for his failure in his own person; while the success of Aurangzib affected adversely the political destiny of a whole

continent. Dara proved a failure in war and state-craft because he made them the secondary objects of his pursuit. He devoted the greater part of his time and energy to carrying on a literary propaganda for the promotion of peace and concord between the better minds in Islam and Hinduism. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that anyone who intends to take up the solution of the problem of religious peace in India must begin the work where Dara had left it, and proceed on the path chalked out by that prince. The world has not become richer in any way by the long reign of Aurangzib; but it would have been certainly poorer without a Dara Shukoh.

Dara and Aurangzib present a most perfect contrast, having been cast by nature in different moulds altogether. Both stood head and shoulders above their contemporaries, one in the domain of thought and the other in the field of action. Aurangzib was not without an element of mysticism in him; but he never forgot the maxim, "Religious mysticism

is one thing, practical business is another." Dara and Aurangzib were equally faithful to Islam; the former being true to the spirit only and the latter to the very letter of his religion. Each had his own idealism. Dara thought of rescuing the spirit of the Prophet's creed which was being crushed under the dead weight of the dogmatism of the *mullas*. His ambition was to supplant exoteric Islam by esoteric mysticism as a living moral force among the Muslim intellectuals. He appears in the role of a peace-maker between the Hindus and the Muslims; his task being to interpret to each community the highest truths of the religion of the other in a most intelligent and acceptable manner. Aurangzib was a militant pan-Islamist to whom the only solution of the quarrel of creeds appeared to be the conversion of the whole world to Islam. Dara and Aurangzib personify respectively the spirit of progress and of reaction. The forces of conservatism and reaction having been stronger in the Middle Ages, it is no wonder that

Aurangzib triumphed over Dara. The fight between the spirit of Dara and the spirit of Aurangzib has been continually going on in Islam, and indeed in every community and everywhere in the world with varying fortune.

As regards Dara Shukoh some modern Muslim writers even share almost Aurangzib's sentiments towards his eldest brother, who was in his opinion a schemer in politics, a vain pretender in the domain of spirituality, a polytheist himself and a friend of polytheists, good for nothing except talking and laughing. However even granting that Dara was bankrupt in good deeds, and guilty of every calumny charged against him, none can possibly doubt that the Prince, like Abou Ben Adam might with a conscience much cleaner than that of Aurangzib—say to the good angel: "Write me as one that loves his fellow men."

However, inspite of the unfavourable verdict of history Aurangzib shall ever remain the hero of popular imagination which is hardly affected by historical

criticism. The homage of love and admiration which the Muslims pay to him is not due to the peculiar mentality of that community. Had he been born among the Hindus or the Christians and did as much for them, he would have been hailed with no less popular applause than what he receives today from his own community. His is a character just suited to fire popular imagination which always paints the ideal hero as one who does not deviate even by a hair from the traditional path of *Dharma* (Law), restores religion to its purity, represses the enemies of his faith, subdues the wicked, protects the pious, spurns the seductions of softer vices, labours not for his own enjoyment but to discharge his duty to his people, lives and dies a poor man in the midst of the wealth of Hind with a character without weaknesses and without any moral stain. Nowhere in the world and in no age, the hero of popular imagination has ever been the real historical character, Charlemagne, Harun-al-Rashid, Peter the Great, and Shivaji in the light

of historical research are not as they figure in the imagination of the unlettered mass of their own countrymen. If the ideal king Ramchandra cannot be blamed for cutting off the head of a Sudra ascetic, as the poet Bhavabhuti paints his hero,—Aurangzib can hardly be blamed for putting Sarmad and Dara to death, or what he did towards those whom he deemed the enemies of true religion. The misfortune of Aurangzib was that he lived in a historical age, and had the full light of history focussed on him.

SECTION 2.—THE CHARACTER OF DARA SHUKOH COMPARED AND CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF SHAH JAHAN

The character of the Emperor Shah Jahan partook of a double nature—an actual combination of Muslim orthodoxy and the profane tradition of the age of Akbar. He was Dara and Aurangzib in one; the latter representing the "other side of the medal." The reign of Shah Jahan was a period of transition from the enlightened nationalism of Akbar to the gloomy orthodox reaction of the days of

Aurangzib. Outwardly his regime was a continuation of the Age of Akbar; though beneath the surface, the strong undercurrent of reaction was sapping the foundation of the empire. However his court still remained a happy meeting ground of Hindu and Muslim cultures, and genius and skill in the field of literature and fine art were liberally rewarded without any discrimination of creed. Of all the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan, Shah Jahan was peculiarly fortunate in receiving the approbation and applause of both his Muslim and Hindu subjects; and he perhaps deserved it. The *mulla* hailed him as the real Mahdi (Guide), coming after Akbar, the Dajjal and Antichrist of Islam. The *pandit* was also equally warm in his praise of Shah Jahan, and the most gifted among them, Panditrâj Jagannath eulogized him in a verse which has since then become proverbial.

दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान्
पूरयितुं समर्थः।
अन्यैर्नृपालैः परिदीयमानः शाकाय वा
स्याल्लवणाय वा स्यात्॥

i.e., either the Lord of Delhi or the Lord of the Universe is alone capable of fulfilling desires. What is given by other kings may suffice only for buying pot-herbs or salt.

But this cultured and benevolent despot was essentially a bigot not a whit less obdurate than Aurangzib. Shah Jahan was a lover of poetry, but as anecdotes tell us, his fanaticism would invariably get the better of his literary judgment. It is said that the poet Shaida (the Mad), was banished the country for composing the couplet:

Chi-st dani bada-i-gulgun musaffa-i-jauhri;
Husn-ra parawar-digar u ishq-ra Paigambari.

i.e. "Dost thou know what Wine is, which is crimson like the rose, and pure and sparkling like a gem? It is the nourisher of Beauty, the message-bearer of Love."

Shah Jahan's orthodoxy fired up and displaying a sad lack of humour, he became violently angry with the poet,

who had blasphemously associated the names of God and the Prophet with the forbidden liquor. The poet could win back his favour only by writing an apology and quoting in self-defence the authority of Maulana Rumi.[1]

Dara and Aurangzib inherited respectively the non-essential and the essential elements of Shah Jahan's character. Strong family affections, love of pomp and magnificence, a generous appreciation of learning and scholarship, a refined taste in music and painting, and a weakness for astrology[1] and astronomy were Dara's share; but of Shah Jahan's shrewdness, keen insight into human character,

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1 *Mirat-ul-Khayal* by Sher Khan Lodi, p. 109-11. This Shaida was not the famous poet Shaida Gilani. The author of *Mirat-ul-Khayal* says that he belonged to the family of the Shaikh-zadas of Fathpur Sikri. From another instance of Shah Jahan's lack of humour, see the anecdote of Shah Jehan and poet Chandrabhan Brahmin, *ibid.*, p. 154-155.

1 Greek and Hindu astrology and astronomy were much studied in the reign of Shah Jahan. Jagannath who received the title of Mahakavi-rai translated the Arabic "Almagist", Optolemy's work on Astronomy) into Sanskrit under the title "Siddhantasara-Kaustubha". He compiled another work on Astronomy and named it *Samrāt-Siddhanta* [Gaekavad's Oriental Series].

severely practical turn of mind, indefatigable business capacity and love for routine work, Dara had none. The Crown Prince was nevertheless a man of fine capabilities, endowed with courage and energy, physical and mental. His manhood could not grow to its full stature because unlike other great characters in history, he began his life, so to say, at the wrong end, *i.e.* with a silver spoon in his mouth. The practical side of Dara's character remained undeveloped because at the beginning of his career, he found before him nothing tangible, nothing material to strive after such as Akbar, Shah Jahan and Aurangzib had had before them in their early life.

Dara's share in the glory of Shah Jahan's reign was not inconsiderable. He and Jahanara formed a wholesome counter-poise to the forces of reaction headed by Aurangzib and Sadullah Khan. There is a strong reason for holding that the abolition of the pilgrim tax on Hindus[1]

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[1] It is also surprising that *Padshahnama*, which was regularly read out to the Emperor Shah Jahan and corrected

and restoration of the desecrated Chintaman temple were two great successes scored by Dara over the reactionaries. As regards the abolition of the pilgrim-tax, we learn from the biographical notice of Kavindracharya Saraswati, that Shah Jahan and *Dara Shukoh* shed tears at the eloquent and touching appeal of Kavindra in the *Darbar-i-Am.* It hardly admits of any doubt that it was only the close personal friendship of Kavindra with Dara (who was initiated by him into the mysteries of the Yoga and Vedanta philosophy)—that secured such a great concession for the Hindus from the

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by the great wazir Sadullah Khan, does not contain even the remotest reference to one of the most benevolent acts of Shah Jahan, namely the remission of the pilgrim tax on the Hindus, which, after its abolition by Akbar had been revived in the reign of Jahangir. This he did at the prayers of a Hindu deputation, headed by Kavindracharya Saraswati, who, we are told, received more than one hundred congratulatory addresses from the leaders of the Hindu community throughout the Mughal Empire; and among these addresses one was from Mahamopadhyaya Viswanath Nyayapanchanan, the famous Naiyayika of Bengal, then residing at Benares and finally at Brindavan. [Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XVII Kavindracharya's list, Foreward, V.]

bigoted emperor Shah Jahan. Apart from Dara's spirit of toleration and his pro-Hindu proclivities, the very fact that Aurangzib had desecrated the temple of Chintaman, perhaps induced Dara to exert himself in its restoration. This restoration to idol-worship of a place where once the cry of *muazzin* had been heard and the Musalmans knelt in prayers—was, perhaps without a precedent in the history of Muslim rule in India. The injunction of the Islamic Law might be in favour of the immunity of *old* places of worship of the infidel subjects; but no injunction could prevail against a despot's whim if it was not backed by sufficient moral force.

The court-history of Shah Jahan does not refer to any temple destruction later than January, 1633. A *farman* of Shah Jahan granted to Goswami Vithal Rai Tikayat of Govardhannath, resident at Gokul in the 6th (?) Regnal year tells us that the lands of *mauza* (village) Jatipura had been granted by him to the Goswami "for his use and *for the expenses*

of the Thakordwara, tax-free." There is no denying of the fact, that generally speaking, from the 10th year onwards the policy of Shah Jahan toward the Hindus shows a change for the better, which certainly was due to the growing influence of Dara and Jahanara at court. The three lists of *mansabdars* (two in Abdul Hamid's text and one in Waris), given at the end of each ten yearly cycle of Shah Jahan's reign furnish a useful study of the increased percentage of Hindu *mansabdars* in the Mughal army. During the last ten years of the reign the increase in the higher grades was double, and in lower grades almost threefold.

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1 "Imperial Farmans" by K. M. Jhavari, New Printing Press, Bombay.

Farman No. VI; date has been read as 6th Illahi year. Farman No. VII which is refers to exemption from some dues, was, according to the reading of the translator, issued only after an interval of one month. *Farman* No. VIII is only a *nishan* of Dara Shukoh in the handwriting of Dara's Diwan Abdul Karim. It runs thus: 'as Vithal Rai . . . . has his residence in Qasba Gokul, (and) as this place is the native place of the above-mentioned person, he has got his property and cattle there, it is ordered that no one should molest or disturb. . . ."

When the War of Succession broke out there were two Hindu chiefs above the rank of 5-hazari, a unique recognition of Hindu merit which was never again seen since the death of Akbar. Dara's pronounced Hindu sympathies and his active and generous patronage of Hindus concealed from Hindu eyes the darker side of Shah Jahan's rule. He was also the *maker* of the cultural history of the reign of Shah Jahan, and *minus* this cultural history, the reign of Shah Jahan has little to boast of except his buildings.

SECTION 3.—DARA SHUKOH AND AKBAR THE GREAT

Dara Shukoh appears at first sight to have been a re-incarnation of the spirit of his great-grand father. But as a matter of fact there has yet been no second Akbar among the rulers and thinkers of the Muslim world. Throughout the entire course of Indian history none, except Asoka perhaps, excels him. His reign was characterised by an intellectual and religious revolt, and the birth of Indian

nationalism in politics as well as in the Fine arts and literature. Strictly speaking there cannot be a just comparison between Akbar and Dara; because the genius of the former was all-comprehensive and of epic grandeur; while that of the latter was essentially lyric in character. They stand in striking contrast as regards their mental traits; Dara being essentially a mystic and intuitionalist; while Akbar was pre-eminently a rationalist, "a disciple of his own reason;[1] compared with Akbar even Caliph Mamun, would appear a timid conservative.

In Akbar the qualities of the head and the heart were nicely balanced, which was not the case with Dara, whose intellectual faculties were weaker than the qualities of his heart. As seekers after God, they also stand in different categories; Akbar being highly intellectual, and Dara highly emotional. Akbar's God was an objective God, while the God of Dara was an experience. Having realised

God as the Truth, as they claimed, Akbar took up as his motto to do the will of God, strive after more knowledge about Him, practise heroic stoicism and self-introspection; while Dara, like Sarmad and Mulla Shah, threw away knowledge and reason to the four winds, and plunged deep into the joy of union with Him. Or, in Hindu phraseology Akbar was a *Yogin*, and Dara, a *Bhakta;* the former in his attitude to God being compared to the young one of a monkey clinging fast to the mother's bosom by its own determination and unaided strength; the latter resembling a kitten, mewing helplessly till its mother comes, and lifts it up bodily. It is said, however, that in the path of God, Knowledge is blind and Faith lame; and each is helpless without the other's aid in attaining to Truth. It is no wonder that Akbar's rationalism ended in mysticism; for, God is beyond the reach of reason. Dara was a god-intoxicated man to whom his stoic great-grand father, weary of search and keeping vigil, might as well have said:

वयंतत्त्वान्वेषान्मधुकर हतास्त्वं खलु कृती ।

i.e. "We are undone by the inquiry
of truth;
Thou, bee, art indeed blessed."

Superficial observers and blind fanatics bracket Dara and Akbar together as atheists, hypocrites and opportunists, men destitute of all religions. Dara and Akbar regarded the so-called orthodox enthusiasts of every creed as religious fools, who, however, thought no better of them than as ungodly knaves. In truth, Dara and Akbar never denied the existence of God; but their god was incomprehensible to the average Musalman, Christian or Jew; because such a god was neither the exclusive patron of the children of Ismail nor of the progeny of Israel. A god without *his chosen seed*" without a particular love for monotheists and hatred for polytheists, was hardly an intelligible being to Semetic races. Dara and Akbar have been called hypocrites, because they were not prepared to hold only one religion to be true

and all others false, and because they would not testify their love for one religion by hating and persecuting all others. They were large-hearted seers of truth, and as such quite content to leave "*heresy to the heretic*, and *religion to the orthodox.*" Theirs was the policy of *Sulh-i-kul* or "Peace with all." Akbar is said to have deviated from this policy only with regard to Islam, because, in his opinion, the official Islam was a stumbling block to progress and disloyal to the state. Like many modern thinkers both in the East and the West, Akbar was under a strong impression that the Islam of Shaikh Abdun Nabi and Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri was incompatible with progress and civilization.

Akbar had built up a national empire and started it on a new career of progress by founding national schools of painting architecture, music and literature, which contained the best elements of Indian as well as Islamic arts and culture. He attempted the same thing in religion too, and established a new sect

by adulterating the pure monotheism of Islam with cruder beliefs and pagan element-worship of Aryan and Iranian cults. But Akbar's contemporaries in the East were mere pigmies in comparison with his mighty genius and were hopelessly mistaken in comprehending the high idealism of Akbar as the blind men of the fable were in forming the idea of an elephant. They condemned Akbar as a polytheist and sun-worshipper. A few like Abul Fazl and Faizi[1] could only understand aright his philosophy; the latter has immortalised in a *qasidah*, the mystery of Akbar's sun-worship.

Qismat nigar ki dar khur-i-har jauhar-i-'atast.
Ayina ba Sikandar u ba-Akbar aftab.
U-me-kunad mu'aina-i-khud dar 'aina.
V in me-kunad mushahdah-i-haq dar aftab.

i.e., look to the divine dispensation that

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1 Faizi's *Nal-Daman*, Introduction.

everything is given to him that suits his nature; a mirror to Alexander, and the sun to Akbar. The former sees his own self in the mirror; but the latter sees the Truth in the sun.

It is noteworthy that similar thought-waves were stirring men's minds in the West and the East during the sixteenth century, which in Europe was characterised by an intellectual ferment, the rise of religious reformers, the growth of national monarchies, the ambition and policy of national despots to be supreme governors of the State and the national Church, and the elimination of extra-territorial influences from the political and religious life of the people. Akbar made a supreme effort to free Indian Islam from Arabicism and adapt it to the needs of India, as the Persians had evolved Shiaism to make Islam suited to their national genius.

Even the Musalmans who deny that Akbar was a Muslim, never doubt that Dara Shukoh was a Muslim inspite of all his pantheistic ideas. Dara and Akbar,

though alike in their attitude of peace with all religions, yet differed as poles asunder in their attitude towards Islam. Akbar was one of those who, as one of his sayings goes, "do not believe in divine books, nor credit that the Supreme essence that is tongue-less will express itself in human speech."[1] And to him Traditions (*Hadith*) were no proofs: "Many simpletons, worshippers of imitative custom, mistake the traditions of the ancients for the dictates of reason, and garner for themselves eternal perdition."[2] But any piece of writing of Dara Shukoh will reveal the fact that quotations from the *Quran* and the *Traditions* are used by him as the most conclusive of proofs. Dara believed not only in the *Quran* but also in the Vedas as "the Word of God" (*kalam-i-Ilahi*). The acceptance or the story of physical ascent (*mihraj-i-jismâni*) is regarded almost as an article of faith among the orthodox Muslims, who believe

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1 Jarrett's Ain-i-Akbari, iii. 380.

2 *Ibid.*, 382.

that the Prophet made this journey to Heaven in his physical body. Akbar rejected the story as absurd, because it was physically impossible. The rationalists of Islam (*mutazilites*) make a sort of compromise by holding that the Ascension was made not in the physical body but in the subtle body. Dara's opinion veers to the side of the orthodox party. He says in *Risalah-i-Haqnuma* that the Prophet used to practise *prânâyâm* (*award burd*) or controlling of breath in the cave of Hara, and as a result of it his body became lighter than air, and more transparent than diamond; where, then, was the impossibility that the Prophet in his rarified physical body ascended the seventh heaven? This belief of Dara is no doubt as crude as that of our pious Musalman villagers of Bengal who will tell you many a story that such and such a *Pir* travels overnight to Mecca and after offering *namaz* at Kaba returns to his praying carpet before day-break!

If there is any truth in Badayuni's malicious allegations, Akbar, like the

philosopher Al Kindi subjected the moral character of the Prophet to a scandalous analysis, interdicted his name, and pushed him aside as a back number among the prophets, and himself usurped his position. But Dara never entertained or tolerated any such idea towards the prophet of Arabia. He always regarded him with the deepest veneration as the fountainhead of all knowledge, esoteric and exoteric; his quarrel being always with the narrow-minded *mullas* and their interpretation of the *Quran* and the Traditions. Akbar disobeyed the holy injunction that Muhammad was the *last of the prophets*, and he aspired to form an *ummat* (politico-religious brotherhood) of his own; Dara, on the other hand, never put forward any such pretensions, but only claimed to be an *Insan-i-kamil* or perfect man,—a claim not incompatible with orthodox Islam.

About the religion of Dara Shukoh, Bernier says, "Born a Mahometan, he continued to join in the exercise of that religion; but although thus publicity pro-

fessing his adherence to its faith, Dara was in private a Gentile with Gentiles, and a Christian with a Christian."[1] There seems to be no doubt that Dara never refused at least outward conformity to Islam, and this is enough to meet the charge of apostacy against him; because Islam like the Roman Catholicism of the Middle Ages never enjoins Inquisition into men's thoughts and private actions.

The charges of heresy against him, such as his wearing a ring with the word *prabhu* inscribed in Hindi characters on it, his association with Hindu ascetics, and his gift of a stone railing to the temple of Keshab Rai which Aurangzib brought against Dara to justify a political murder—have been dismissed by the historian of Aurangzib as insufficient to condemn him of heresy. As we have already noticed Dara's views on the main articles of the Muslim faith did not differ substantially from those of the orthodox school except on the point whether an

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1 *Travels of Bernier*, Constable, p. 6.

Arif (gnostic) who has known and caught a glimpse of the unveiled face of Truth can claim exemption from compliance with the injunctions of the *shariyat*. Dara, unlike the Sufis of the moderate school, held that after the dawn of Truth (*Haqiqat*), a gnostic becomes free from the rigor of religious discipline (*Shariyat*). But it was a matter of opinion only. His views seem to have afterwards been sobered down under the sharp reprimand of his *pir* Mulla Shah Badakhshi. And, as Bernier bears it out, Dara never neglected outward conformity with Islam, though he might not have been as rigorous in fasting and praying as Aurangzib. The *fatwa* of the divines who signed the decree of Dara's death need not be taken very seriously. Like the Stuart judges they were lions under the king's throne and could be made to do anything for a consideration; the most notorious instance being the *fatwa* of deposition against Aurangzib himself issued by the *Maulanas* in the pay of his rebellious son Akbar, on the ground that

this Emperor (a saint canonised during his lifetime)—on account of his un-Islamic conduct was unworthy to rule over Musalmans!

It is true that Dara wore a ring inscribed with the word *prabhu*, and that he made the gift of a stone railing to the temple of Kashav Rai at Mathura. But these were not proofs of his heresy. Dara would not have been found fault with if the word *prabhu* were replaced on his ring by its Arabic equivalent *al'Rabb*. To the ear of a Mulla *prabhu* sounded like an anathema, and the sight of the Hindi script offended his eyes as a profanation; because the illiberal Mullas as well as the illiterate Muslim mass in those days—as in ours too—look upon the Arabic language and the Arabic script with superstitious veneration, as if Arabic were the only language and the only script acceptable to God, just as the Christian god of the Western Church understood only Latin in the Middle Ages and Hindu god till now understands nothing but Sanskrit! Dara's ring was an

open protest against this popular superstition. It was but a materialization of the great truth contained in the following couplet of his:

> *Ba-nam-i-ankeh u nam-e na-darad;*
> *ba-har nam-e ke khwani sar bar*
> *arad.*

i.e. In the name of Him who has got no name; but who responds to whatever name you choose to call Him by."

As regards the fate of the temple honoured by Dara Shukoh, the historian of Aurangzib writes: "On 14th October, 1666, learning that there was a stone railing in the temple of Kashav Rai, which Dara Shukoh had presented to it, Aurangzib ordered it to be removed, as a scaldalous example of a Muslim's coquetry with idolatry. And finally in January 1670, his zeal stimulated by the pious meditations of Ramzan, led him to send forth commands to destroy this temple altogether, and to change the name of the

city of Mathura to Islamabad."[1] But this gift was perhaps not a case of a Muslim coquetting with idolatry, but the most courageous and convincing proof of Dara's loyalty to his idealism and philosophy. Dara more than once declared: "*ba-zer-i-but imanist pinhan;" i.e.* Faith (*imam*) lies hidden beneath the idol"; and this gift was only a genuine sentiment translated into action. In fact, had there been no such concrete example of Dara's sincerity, critics would have been justified in treating his lofty and catholic sentiments as little better than commonplace Sufistic effusions.

Dara and Akbar stand unique among the Muslim thinkers of India as regards their moral courage and sincerity of conviction. Akbar built a temple in Kashmir, and inscribed on it a note of warning as it were to bigots of every creed born and unborn: "He who from insincere motives destroys this temple, should first destroy his own place of worship; for, if

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[1] Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Hist. of Aurangzib, iii., p. 267.

we follow the dictates of the heart, we must bear up with all men; but if we look to the external, we find every thing proper to be destroyed." This was perhaps also the sentiment that prompted Dara to respect the external worship of every community. If we compare the position of Dara with that of Akbar, and the dangers which each had to encounter in publishing their faith, the stone-railing of Dara outweighs the temple of Akbar in the scale of moral courage.

Peace be to the soul of Prince Dara Shukoh, who desreves well of his country. His great message to his countrymen shall ever find an eloquent echo in the following lines of a derwish:

Hindu kahé són ham badé,
Musalmân kahé ham
Ek mung-ka dô fand hai,
kun ziyada kun kam;
Kun ziyada kun kam,
karna nahi kajiya;
Ek Râm-kâ bhagat hai,
dujé Rahman-se raziya;

Kahe 'Deen Darvish' dôy saritan,
mil ék sindhu;
Sahib sab-da ék hai,
ék Musalman Hindu.[1]

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[1] Deen Darvish, an nineteenth century saint; quoted in *Hindi-ke Musalman Kavi*.

i.e. The Hindu says, 'I am superior';
the Musalman says I.
Two halves of a grain of *mung* they are;
which, then, is greated than the other?
Don't quarrel over who is superior;
and who is not;
The one is the devotee of Ram, the other of Rahmān.
Deen Darvish says, the two unite in one ocean;
There is only one Lord of all;
The Hindu and the Musalman are one.

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1. The *Padshah-nama,* or the court history of the reign of Shah Jahan in three parts, each covering the history of a *daur* or decade. The first two parts were compiled by Abdul Hamid Lahori and the last by Abdul Hamid's pupil Muhammad Waris. Abdul Hamid's work is available in print (Bibliotheca Indica series). I have used a neatly written Ms of Waris belonging to Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

Emperor Shah Jahan was ambitious of having a grand history of his reign compiled on the lines and written in the style of Abul Fazl's Akbarnama. Sadullah Khan recommended Abdul Hamid as the only man in that age capable of performing such a task, because he enjoyed among his contemporaries great reputation as a successful imitator of Abul Fazl's inimitable Persian prose style. Old Abdul Hamid, then living in obscure retirement in the city of Patna[1] was invited to Court in the second decade of Shah Jahan's reign and entrusted with the work. He lived only to finish the history of the first twenty years of the reign.

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1 Abdul Hamid on himself and his work. Pad. ia., 10-13.

Muhammad Waris, who continued the work begun by his master according to the author of Maasir-i-Alamgiri, died on the 10th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1091 A.H.[2] He was stabbed to death by a mad student whom he kept with him.

The *Padshah-nama* is the most detailed and in many respects the most authoritative history of Shah Jahan's reign. It was compiled from State papers, news sheets, reports of daily occurrences at Court and other official documents. It has an additional stamp of authority because of the fact that it was read out to the Emperor by his wazir Sadullah Khan, and amended by him at the Emperor's suggestion. The concluding portion of the work was similarly revised, after Sadullah's death, by Ala-ul-mulk Tuni (Fazil Khan), the Lord Steward of the Household. The *Padshahnama,* therefore, has also the merits and defects of an auto-biography, so far as the character and doings of the Emperor are concerned. Shah Jahan's character is reflected in this Court history, as he liked to portray himself.

The prevailing tone of the history is the Emperor's orthodoxy as the ideal Muslim ruler of his age. Temple destruction, war against non-Muslims, gifts to Mecca, illumination on *Id* festivals, *Milad* assemblies attended by the Emperor are noticed without fail by the two royal historiographers ; whereas everything which might be inter-

2 Elliot, VII, 121.

preted as a weakness or lapse from orthodoxy is passed over in silence ; e.g., his remission of the pilgrim tax on Hindus and restoration of the temple of Ghintaman. Even Waris or his royal patron did not think it desirable that the *Padshah-nama* should record the Emperor's exemption in his sixtieth year from the *fast* of Ramzan by a *fatwa* of learned doctors and *muftis* in accordance with the ordinances of the Quran.[1]

Next comes Shah Jahan's strong family affections, particularly his love for Dara and Jahanara. The *Padshahnama* contains long notices of his buildings in Agra and Delhi ; but curiously enough no mention of Painting which also reached the highest perfection during his reign.

The *Padshahnama* records very minutely the political career of Dara Shukoh which was however, uneventful. It has been found unnecessary and even impossible to notice in detail in my book the promotions, presents, gifts of jewels and horses and royal visits with which Dara was honoured by his father. Nothing against Dara, such as his quarrel with Sadullah could certainly be expected to find a place in the Court history. The prince's literary activities and religious views are not at all noticed in it. It gives appendices containing lists of the saints, scholars and poets, who flourished during this reign ; but among these there is not a single

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1 Inayat Khan's Shah-Jahan-nama, quoted in Elliot, VII, 97.

Hindu name included in the list itself, though there are in the body of the text, Jagannath Pandit, and the Hindi poets, Haranath and Sundar Kavi Rai etc. are incidentally mentioned. Had the authors of the *Padshah-nama* included like Abul Fazl names of Hindu scholars, poets, saints also in his lists, more light would have been thrown on the character of Dara, who had intimate relations with them.

2. *Amal-i-Salih* of Muhammad Salih Kambu. (In process of publication in the *Biblotheca Indica* series).

It is a history of the reign of Shah Jahan from his birth to his death in 1665 A.D. It has not much independent value for the first 30 years of Shah Jahan's reign, which are treated with greater fulness and originality in the Padshah-nama. The book having been written during the reign of Aurangzib, the author could mention with impunity Shah Jahan's complicity in the murder of Khusru, and could not but give the version of the War of Succession from the view point of the party hostile to Dara. It is a supplement to the Padshah-nama in respect of the 31st year of Shah Jahan's reign, followed by a brief account of his end.

4. *Alamgir-nama* (Bibliotheca Indica) by Muhammad Kazim, written in 1688 contains the history of first ten years of Aurangzib's reign. The Emperor prohibited the continuation of this official history when the author presented it to him in the

thirty-second year of his reign. All subsequent historians, such as Saqi Mustaidd Khan, Shaikh Muhammad Baqa and Khafi Khan have extensively drawn upon it. The author of *Alamgir-nama* thus justifies the overthrow and murder of Dara:

"Dara Shukoh in his later years did not confine himself to the freethinking and heretical notions, which he had adopted under the name of *tasawwuf* (Sufism), but showed an inclination for the religion and institutions of the Hindus. He was constantly in the society of Brahmans, Jogis and Sanyasis . . . . he had given up the prayers, fasting, and other obligations imposed by the law. It became manifest that if Dara Shukoh obtained the throne and established his power, the foundations of the Faith would be in danger and the precepts of Islam would be changed for the rant of infidelity and Judaism. . . . . Consequently, for the defence of the Faith, and maintenance of the Shariyat, added to the urgent consideration of state policy . . . . . he was put to death.[1]

5. *Latif-ul-Akhbar*: an anonymous account of the third siege of Qandahar, attributed to Badi uz-Zaman Rashid Khan. The author, as the internal evidence shows, was in the service of Mahabat Khan, the Younger, and accompanied that general to Qandahar with the army of Dara Shukoh. The author was indeed at that time not at all known to

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[1] Pers. text, p. 34, 35; Elliot, VII, 197. For a bogus Dara appearing in Gujrat in 1663, see *Alamgir-nama*, p. 837.

higher circle and no mention of his name (if he be Badiuz Zaman) in the official account of the third siege of Qandahar is given by Waris. The author, like Badayuni of the days of Akbar, seems to have been till then a man disappointed in life, and the very opening lines of his work strikes a note of cynical contempt for successful courtiers and state officials. He writes:

"I am not one of the special favourites aware of secrets nor a grandee of the inner circle. Neither am I a clerk in [Government] service, nor am employed on the diplomatic missions or in the news-writing department that I might tell a lie and live on falsehoods; that I should conceal an occurrence from the public eye and get up proof for what did not happen only for the amusement of friends in Hindustan with their ears alert for news from Qandahar. I believe a lie should not be told and truth concealed from friends. When there is no motive, nor the favour of anyone in view, why should one go astray from truth and be not a fair-speaking man? By God, of the occurrences of this journey whatever I, who am so little known, have seen, none else have seen; if anyone has seen, he has kept them secret for his own worldly gains, and if he has told, he told them in other way. The account of the age is (better) known to persons living aloof in a corner."

Latif-ul-Akhbar is a diary of events entered day by day (19a—227b) from the beginning to the last

day of the third siege of Qandahar. It contains authentic military details as well as camp gossips, the latter none the less valuable for the study of popular beliefs and superstitions of Persians and Indians in the 17th century. I have reconstructed the story of Dara's siege of Qandahar mainly from this work, which, though most damaging to Dara's character both as a man and a soldier, appears to me more trustworthy in this respect than the court history of Shah Jahan. Rieu remarks: "It is no doubt the Tarikh-i-Qandahar which Khafi Khan quotes (Vol. I, p. 722), and ascribes to Rashid Khan, as Muhammad Badi. This Rashid Khan who was also called Badiuz-Zaman Mahabatkhani was appointed Divan-i-Khalisah in the 24th year of Aurangzib's reign and died in the 41st year of the same reign" (Rieu i. 265).

6. *Tarikh-i-Shujai* (or Shah Shujai, Ethe, i. 340).

It is a history of Prince Shah Shuja, written by Muhammad Masum (*bin* Hasan *bin* Salih) a protege and servant of Shuja for twenty-five years. Ethe remarks: "This work may be a part of the same author's *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri,* which was also completed in 1070 A.H." (Ethe, i. 340). So far as internal evidence goes the author wrote his work at Malda in Bengal, and mentions events of later date than 1070 A.H. (1660); *e.g.*, Sulaiman's surrender by the Srinagar Rajah (1661). Therefore it cannot be a part of any work completed in 1660. We very

strongly suspect 1070 A.H. to be copyist's error for 1080 A.H., which is very likely.

The author, though a servant of Shuja, was yet an admirer of Aurangzib, and full of sympathy for Dara. But he seemed to have had no first hand knowledge of affairs, other than those of his master Shuja. Masum's work is a work of art full of dramatic and human touches which we miss in dry chronicles compiled from state papers.

7. *Muntakhabu-l-Labab* : a well-known history, "commencing with the invasion of Babar, A.D. 1519 and concluding with the 14th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah" written by Muhammad Hashim, better known by his title Khafi Khan. (See Elliot VII, p. 207-210). Khafi Khan has certainly borrowed much from court chronicles like *Padshahnama*, as nobody can help it. But it is perhaps not quite correct to say that "so far as the reign of Shah Jahan is concerned he does not materially add to our knowledge" (Dr. Banarasi Prasad's *History of Shah Jahan*). Khafi Khan was the first writer who utilised *non-official sources* like Tarikh-i-Qandahari, and herein lies the value of his history.

8. *Masir-ul-umara* : well-known biographical dictionary of the nobles of the Mughal Empire by Shahnawaz Khan (Bibliotheca Indica).

9. *Works of Dara Shukoh* :

(*i*) Safinat-ul-awliya ; Newal Kishor Press.

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It is a history of Prince Shah Shuja, written by Muhammad Masum (*bin* Hasan *bin* Salih) a protege and servant of Shuja for twenty-five years. Ethe remarks: "This work may be a part of the same author's *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri*, which was also completed in 1070 A.H." (Ethe, i. 340). So far as internal evidence goes the author wrote his work at Malda in Bengal, and mentions events of later date than 1070 A.H. (1660); *e.g.*, Sulaiman's surrender by the Srinagar Rajah (1661). Therefore it cannot be a part of any work completed in 1660. We very

strongly suspect 1070 A.H. to be copyist's error for 1080 A.H., which is very likely.

The author, though a servant of Shuja, was yet an admirer of Aurangzib, and full of sympathy for Dara. But he seemed to have had no first hand knowledge of affairs, other than those of his master Shuja. Masum's work is a work of art full of dramatic and human touches which we miss in dry chronicles compiled from state papers.

7. *Muntakhabu-l-Labab :* a well-known history, "commencing with the invasion of Babar, A.D. 1519 and concluding with the 14th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah" written by Muhammad Hashim, better known by his title Khafi Khan. (See Elliot VII, p. 207-210). Khafi Khan has certainly borrowed much from court chronicles like *Padshahnama,* as nobody can help it. But it is perhaps not quite correct to say that "so far as the reign of Shah Jahan is concerned he does not materially add to our knowledge" (Dr. Banarasi Prasad's *History of Shah Jahan*). Khafi Khan was the first writer who utilised *non-official sources* like Tarikh-i-Qandahari, and herein lies the value of his history.

8. *Masir-ul-umara :* well-known biographical dictionary of the nobles of the Mughal Empire by Shahnawaz Khan (Bibliotheca Indica).

9. *Works of Dara Shukoh :*

(*i*) Safinat-ul-awliya ; Newal Kishor Press.

(*ii*) Sakinat-ul-awliya (Oriental Public Library Ms.).

(*iii*) Risalah-i-Haqnuma (Newal Kishore Press).

(*iv*) Hasanat-ul-arifin (Mujtabai Press, Delhi).

(*v*) Majma'al Bahrain (Sarkar Ms.).

(*vi*) Sirr-i-Akbar (Rieu, i. add 18404 ; also a Ms. belonging to Mr. Fida Ali Khan, Dacca University).

10. *Dabistan-ul-Muzahib* : English translation by O'Shea and Troyer ; Litho. edition, Bombay.

11. *Mirat-ul-khyal* : by Sher Khan Lodi (Umdat-ul-akhbar Press). This *Tazkira* or anthology of literary men, written in the early years of Aurangzib's reign, is indispensable to students of history of this period.

(*b*) *Letters.*

1. *Adab-i-Alamgiri,* by Qabil Khan. It consists of three parts ; namely (*i*) letters written during the years 1649 to 1659 ; (*ii*) history of the War of Succession, a supplement by Qabil Khan himself ; (*iii*) letters written in 1678—80 by Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq of Ambala who "at the request of his son Muhammad Zaman, edited the whole work with the above three distinct parts in 1703 A.D. and gave it the title of *Adab-i-Alamgiri*."[1] The first part of the work is of great value in studying causes of estrangement between Aurangzib and Shah Jahan and Aurangzib's bitterness against Dara. The

second part, namely, the history of the War of Succession has got no independent value.

2. *Letters of Aurangzib* collected and edited by Inayetullah Khan in his *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat* and *Akham-i-Alamgiri*, and Sayyid Ashrof Khan's *Raqaim-i-Karim.*[2] They contain stray references to Dara, and his children, Aurangzib's gifts to Dara's daughter Amal-un-nissa, wives of Sulaiman Shukoh, Aurangzib's care for Dara's tomb etc.

3. Letters in the Jaipur Darbar Archives. The Jaipur Darbar Archives is a veritable mine of raw and first hand materials for the history of the Mughal Empire from the time of Shah Jahan to Muhammad Shah. It is pre-eminently a discovery of Sir Jadunath Sarkar who for the first time was allowed to inspect the Archives and make copies of some letters preserved therein. I have used transcripts of about 1000 letters in Sir Jadunath's collection. There are some mistakes, in dates of receipt due perhaps to copyist's hurry or ignorance. I have edited in Vol II of Dara Shukoh some of the most important letters written by Mirza Rajah to Shah Jahan and Dara, and *farmans* and *nishans* received by him from the Emperor and the Crown Prince. I have reconstructed the story of the campaign of Sulaiman Shukoh against Shuja during

1 Sarkar's Studies in Aurangzib's reign, p. 292.

2 For biographies of editors and a critical estimate of the value of these letters, see Ibid., p. 288, 289, 292-296.

the War of Succession from these first hand materials. These letters bring out incidentally some phases of Dara's character, his belief in astrology and in his own *ilhām* or divine inspiration.

4. *Haft-anjuman* (Sarkar Ms.), a collection of letters by Rajah Jai Singh's secretary Udairaj, who after the death of his master turned a Muslim. It is a valuable supplement to the collection of letters in the Jaipur state record (*Studies in the reign of Aurangzib*, p. 298).

5. *Faiyyaz-ul-qawanin* (Sarkar Ms.)—This collection contains letters of Dara to Shah Dilruba, correspondence between Dara and Mulla Shah and Shaikh Muhibbullah, besides several letters bearing on the causes of the War of Succession. I have incorporated correspondence of Dara in vol. ii of this work. That these letters are not fictitious is proved by the fact that even in minute details some of them, *e.g.*, letters of Dara to Mulla Shah wonderfully agree with references found in the Padshah-nama of Waris. Letters of Dara to Muhibbullah are also preserved in a collection of letters in the private possession of Mr. Fida Ali Khan of Dacca University.

6. *Golconda letters* (Salar Jang Ms.)—by Abdul Ali Tabrizi. I have printed correspondence between Dara and Abdulla Qutb Shah in vol. ii of Dara Shukoh.

7. *Durrul-Manshur or Sahaif-ush-Sharaif*—compiled by Muhammad Askari Husain Bilgrami in

1171 A.H. (1757). I have used a Ms. belonging to Hakim Habibur Rahaman Sahib of Dacca. This copy was transcribed in 1827 A.D.

B. ENGLISH.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar—

(*i*) History of Aurangzib.

(*ii*) Studies in the reign of Aurangzib.

Constable—Bernier's Voyage to the East Indies.

W. Irvine—Storia do Mogor.

Ball—Tavernier's Travels in India.

Hakluyt Society—Peter Mundy's Travels.

Gaekwad's Oriental Series—No. XVII, Kavindrachaya List.

Dr. Banarasi Prasad—History of Shah Jahan of Dilhi (Indian Press, Allahabad, 1932).

Dr. Modi Memorial Volume—"The unpublished translation of the Upanishads by Prince Dara Shukoh" (pp. 622—638). Before the publication of this article I printed about 50 pages of extracts of original Persian from Mr. Fida Ali Khan's Ms.

Srish Ch. Basu—The Compass of Truth or English translation of Dara's Risalah-i-Haqnuma (Panini Office, Allahabad).

Mahfuzul Haq—Majma'al Bahrain (A. S. B.).

Dr. S. K. De—History of Sanskrit poetics.

Farquhar, John Nicol—Outlines of Religious Literature of India.

Percy Brown—Indian Painting under the Moghuls.

V. A. Smith—History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.

C. French.

Garcin de Tassy—*Histoire de la Litterature Hindoui et Hindustani* (Oriental Translation Fund).

Huart (Cl.) et Massignon—*Les Entreliens de Lahore,* J. A. 1926, i. Very recently the Dacca University has secured a copy Nadir-un-Nukat or Dialogue of Dara and Baba Lal.

Ysuf Husain—*L' Inde Mystique au Moyen Age,* 1929.

D. Vernaculars.

Lal Kavi—*Chhatra-prakash,* edited by Shyam Sundar Das. Lal Kavi was a court poet of Maharajah Chhtrasal Bundela, son of Champat Rai whose career the poet describes in chapters 5 to 7. The poet's account of Champat Rai's valient services under Dara at Qandahar is inaccurate as it does not agree with that of an eye-witness namely, the author of *Lataif.* We do not know from any Persian sources why Champat Rai turned hostile to Dara on the outbreak of the War of Succession. Khafi Khan, an earlier authority, lends support to the poet's contention that it was Champat Rai who showed the secret ford on the Chambal to Aurangzib's army. Lal

Kavi says that Champat Rai defiantly left Agra without leave, and raised the standard of rebellion before the outbreak of the War of Succession, because Dara deprived Champat Rai of his jagir of Kunch at instigation of Champat's kinsman and enemy, Pahar Singh Bundela. This may be true, as Dara had the weakness of lending a willing ear to insinuations and back-bitings. Lal Kavi's sketch of the character of Aurangzib and Dara is graphic and fairly historical.

Surajmal—the *Vamsa-bhaskar,* a stupendous Hindi epic, written under the patronage of Maharajah Ram Singh of Bundi (1821—1888) by Surajmal Mishan, the royal bard of Bundi. Though a nineteenth century work, no student of Rajput history or of contemporary Delhi affairs can afford to ignore it. The War of Succession is described by the poet in animated verse without sacrifice of truth (pp. 2661—2782).

Kaviraj Shyamldasji—*Virbinod,* an unpublished work, having for its main theme the history of Mewar. This is a vast store-house of first-hand historical materials, secured from Udaipur Darbar Archives, to which none before or after Shymaldasji had full access. It contains translations of several *nishans* of Dara and Aurangzib to Maharana Raj Singh, and some nishans of Dara to Rao Akhairaj II of Sirohi.

M. M. Gaurishankar Ojha—*Rajputana ka Itihas*; this work has superseded Tod's History of Rajasthan. It is a thoroughly reliable and comprehensive work, on the Ruling House of Udaipur. Dara's services to Maharana Raj Singh, and Maharana's intrigue with Aurangzib are set forth in Ojha's chapter on Raj Singh (p. 843—50).

Shyam Behari Misra—*Misra-bandhu-binod*, a comprehensive and fairly accurate history of Hindi Literature in three volumes (chapters 20-21). Report on Hindi Mss. in Hindi pt. I. Dara in his *Sar-samgraha* says that he had employed a large number of men for making an anthology of Hindi poetry, and translating the same into Persian (p. 65).

Sayyid Najib Ashraf Nadvi—*Muqaddamah-i-Raquaat-i-Alamgiri* (*Dar-ul-musannafin*, Azamgarh). The author seems to be an apologist of Aurangzib. His views on Aurangzib, Dara and Shah Jahan are those of an average orthodox Muslim.

E. SANSKRIT.

Works of Jagannath Pandit—i. *Pranabharanam* and *Jagadabharanam* (Kavya-mala series, i. 79). Jagannath, son of Perama, hailing from Tailanga country lived in Delhi under the patronage of Dara Shah (Catalogus Catalogorum i; Notices of Sanskrit Mss. X). Slokas in *Pranabharanam* and *Jagadabharanam* are almost identical,

though the hero of the former is said to be Pran-narayan, king of Kamrup or Assam ; and of the latter, Prince Dara Shukoh. Why should Jagannath publish a poem substituting the name Dara for Pran-narayan? There was no king of Kamrup or Assam of the name Pran-narayan. Jagannath's contemporary was Pran-narayan, Rajah of Kuch Bihar, who made war against the Mughals. There is a notice of another work, *Rajvarnan,* which is different from the above-mentioned poems. I spent much time uselessly in a fruitless attempt to extract history from a patent panegyric, which is made to suit alike the Crown Prince of Hindustan and a rebellious chief of Kuch Bihar.

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[1] Prannarayan ruled in Kuch Bihar from 1633 to 1666 A.D. During the War of Succession he made a bid for independence, defeated the Mughal faujdar of Kamrup and made an offensive and defensive alliance with Jayadhvaj Singh, King of Assam, against the Mughals. He proved a great source of trouble to Mir Jumla and Shaista Khan till his death in 1666. See *History of Aurangzib,* iii, pp. 156, 166, 191, 192.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 21 line 4 *for* Heir Designate *read* Heir-Apparent.
,, 21 lines 19-22 *omit* "Dara visited . . . July, 1657"
,, 63 line 20 *for* 18th ghari *read* 8th ghari
,, 96 ,, 1 *for* Faqir Khan *read* Fakhir Khan *wherever it occurs*
,, 104 ,, 9 *add after* 'was' 'at first
,, 106 ,, 3 *read* Qadri *in place of* Qadari
,, 114 ,, 11 *for* 'unification' *read* 'One-ness'
,, 121 lines 16-17 *for* 'in the palmy days of Harun-al-Rashid *read* 'in 309 A.H. during the reign of Caliph Muqtadir'
,, 122 line 4 *for* 'Perfect One' read 'perfect one'
,, 127 ,, 19 *add* 'like two locks of hair' *after* 'wears'
,, 403 footnote line 6 *read* 'greater' *for* greated'
,, 413 line 5 for *Akham* read *Ahkam*

fallen . . . I have given the reasons and evidence for any conclusions. Professor Jadunath Sarkar placed at my disposal all the materials collected in his splendid library, rich in rare Persian MSS., books of reference, learned journals maps and gazetteers. He has read this book in MS. and in proof. (Author's Foreword.)

In addition to nine chapters on the history of Sher Shah from his birth to death, two chapters are devoted to an exhaustive study of his institutions and comparison of them with Akbar's (60 pages) and his character (20 pages). There is also a full and critical bibliography (22 pages) on the Persian sources and European writers on the subject.

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